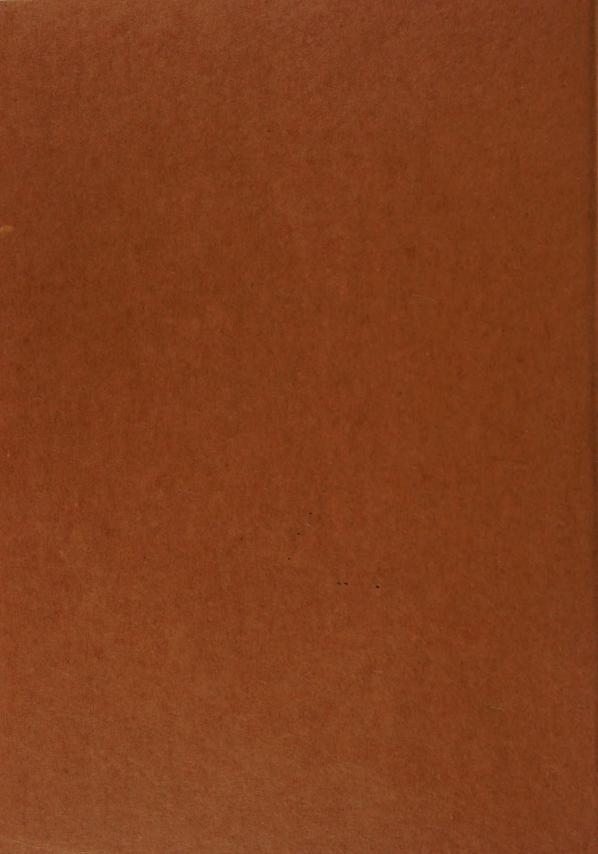
THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN

NUMBER 6 · NOVEMBER 1934



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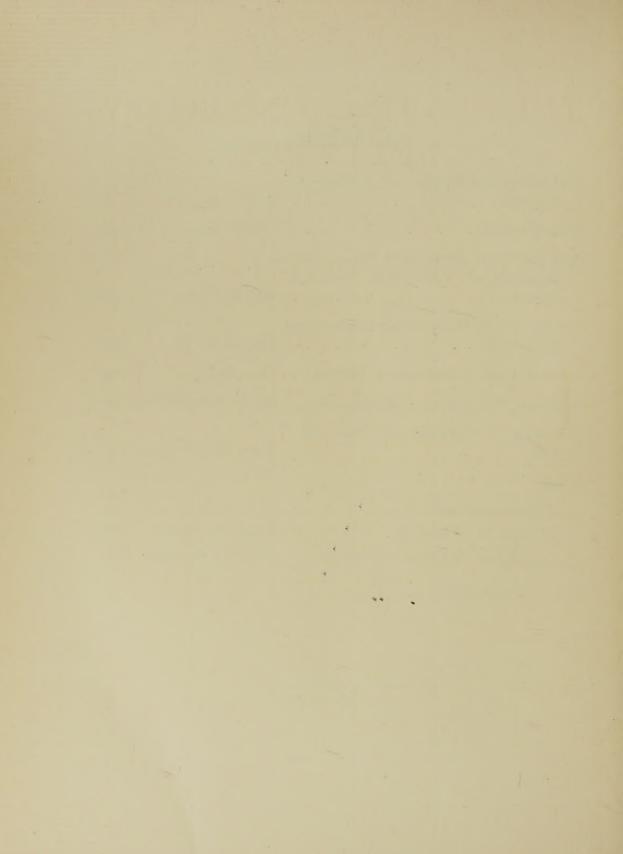
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The Suppressed Edition of A Mirror for Magistrates

By LILY B. CAMPBELL

In the third volume of his History of English Poetry stimulated the modern study of A Mirrour for Magistrates by dedicating four entire chapters to a discussion of its history and its literary merits. In the course of these chapters he managed to start something of an apocryphal history, which to an almost incredible extent has been followed in popular accounts of English literature. First, he gave to Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, the credit for having been the "primary inventor" of the Mirror. Second, he placed the date of its inception at somewhere about 1557. Third, he used Sackville's Induction as the basis of his literary estimate of the whole Mirror, comparing Sackville's work with that of Dante and Virgil.

In 1815 Joseph Haslewood completed a project previously undertaken in collaboration with Sir Egerton Brydges by publishing an edition of all the parts of the *Mirror*.² In his general introduction Haslewood pointed out the injustice and the inaccuracy of the historical

¹ Thomas Warton, A History of English Poetry, III (1781), 209-82. It should be noted, however, that Mrs. Cooper's Muses Library (1737) and Capell's Prolusions (1760) had preceded Warton's interest in the work.

² The British Bibliographer, by Sir Egerton Brydges and Joseph Haslewood, published, as an appendix (separately paged) to Vol. IV (London, 1814), the section of the Mirror

judgments made by Warton. He showed that according to the evidence of the text itself the original suggestion for the enterprise came from Wayland, the printer, who projected it as a continuation of Lydgate's Fall of Princes. He stressed the fact that William Baldwin was responsible for the "general formation" of the plan, but gave due credit to George Ferrers for his assistance. Above all, he placed the Mirror where it belongs in the history of English literature, as a new structure built upon the foundation laid by Lydgate, from whom the plan of the work, and the meter, were for the most part adopted. Further, he showed that the lord chancellor who caused the suppression

of the work was Bishop Gardiner.

In 1898 Mr. W. F. Trench made a thorough study of A Mirror for Magistrates: Its origin and influence, and his conclusions supplied the basis for subsequent investigations. Mr. Trench built up a new series of intriguing inferences in regard to the origin of the Mirror. First, he concluded that the Mirror must have been published before January, 1555. Second, he determined that, although Wayland printed the first (the suppressed) edition, it was not he but Whitchurch to whom Baldwin referred as having first proposed to print it. Third, he strengthened this conclusion by the statement that "this is rendered the more certain by the fact that all the other writers, as well as Baldwin, were Protestants; Wayland's relations would have been with the orthodox." Fourth, he decided that the actual license to print was finally received before the end of Mary's reign, in 1558, even though the edition was not actually published until 1559. Miss Eveline Feasey, writing in

added by John Higgins, which had come to be known as *The First Part* of the *Mirror*. At the close of this work is a "Postscript" recounting the fact of the unexpected termination of the *British Bibliographer* and, with it, the plans for the publication of the *Mirror* in its complete form. The statement is added: "The same reason that influences the termination of the *British Bibliographer* will prevent a continuance of the *Mirror for Magistrates* in octavo, and the two works now form our fourth and last volume.

¹ Professor J. W. Cunliffe, in the chapter on "A Mirror for Magistrates" in the Cambridge History of English Literature, III, 192-200, merely reiterated Mr. Trench's conclusions.

[&]quot;The Editors however do not shrink from their project, and a limited number of copies of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, having, according to the original plan, been taken off in quarto, they, from a wish to see the work completed, have been induced to listen to the invitation of persons no way concerned with the present undertaking, to continue and complete that impression, which will, therefore, be published in the course of the ensuing year." This "Postscript" is signed J. H. and is dated December 28, 1813. The edition of the *Mirror* was published in 1815. See also Haslewood, *Mirror for Magistrates* (1815), I, xxxii.

the Library for 1922, continued the inferences of Mr. Trench by citing internal evidence tending to prove that the original difficulties incurred in the licensing of the Mirror for Magistrates were due to the offense given and intended to Bishop Gardiner in the tragedies of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, of Elianor Cobham his wife, and of the Duke of Somerset, tragedies written by Ferrers and not reproduced even in the first licensed edition.

It is the purpose of this paper to reconsider the inferences which Mr. Trench drew from the evidence in his possession, for it seems to me dangerous to make them, as Miss Feasey does, the basis for an interpretation of the significance of the Mirror for Magistrates.² I propose to discuss the data at hand concerning the origin of the Mirror, the date of the original issue, and the reason for its suppression. It becomes necessary, therefore, to restate the primary evidence upon which all conclusions have been and must be based.

During the year between July 10, 1558, and July 10, 1559, there was recorded in the Stationers' Registers the entry: 3

Thomas marshe hathe lycense to prynte The myrroure of maiestrates vj^d

In accordance with this permission there appeared under date of 1559 A Myrroure For Magistrates printed by Thomas Marshe. The work is prefaced by two introductory epistles. The first is headed by Baldwin's motto, "Love and Lyve," and is addressed "To the nobilitye and all other in office." It is signed by William Baldwin. This epistle records:

The wurke was begun, & part of it p[....]d .iiii. yeare agoe, but hyndred by the lord Chauncellour that then was, nevertheles, through ŷ meanes of my lord Stafford, lately perused & licenced. Whan I first tooke it in hand, I had the helpe of many graunted, & offred of sum, but of few per-

[&]quot;The Licensing of the Mirror for Magistrates," The Library, 4th Ser., III, 177-93. See also Miss Feasey's article on "William Baldwin," Modern Language Review, XX, 407-18.

² Miss Feasey builds up the theory that the continued omission of the tragedies of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, of Elianor Cobham his wife, and of the Duke of Somerset, was the condition of the permission to print the 1559 edition.

³ A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D., ed. Edward Arber, I, 33.

fourmed, skarce of any: So that wher I entended to have continued it to Quene Maries time, I have ben faine to end it much sooner: yet so, that it may stande for a patarne, till the rest be ready.

In the 1563 edition Baldwin rewrote this paragraph in more explicit fashion:

The wurke was begun and parte of it prynted in Queene Maries tyme, but hyndred by the Lorde Chauncellour that then was, nevertheles, through the meanes of my lord Stafford, the fyrst parte was licenced, and imprynted the fyrst yeare of the raygne of this our most noble and vertuous Queene, and dedicate then to your honours with this Preface.

A Briefe Memorial of sundrye Unfortunate Englishe men, the subtitle which introduces the second epistle in the 1559 edition, would seem to mark the beginning of the work as it was originally constituted. This epistle is addressed by "William Baldwin to the Reader," and explains:

Whan the Printer had purposed with hym selfe to printe Lidgates booke of the fall of Princes, and had made priuve thereto, many both honourable and worshipfull, he was counsailed by dyuers of theim, to procure to have the storye contynewed from where as Bochas lefte, vnto this presente time, ... Whiche aduyse lyked him so well, that he required me to take paynes therin: but because it was a matter passyng my wyt and skyll, and more thankles than gaineful to meddle in, I refused vtterly to vndertake it, excepte I might have the helpe of suche, as in wyt were apte, in learning allowed, and in judgemente and estymacion able to wield and furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinkyng euen so to shift my handes. But he earnest and diligent in his affayres, procured Athlas to set vnder his shoulder: for shortly after, dyuers learned men whose many giftes nede fewe praises, consented to take vpon theym parte of the trauayle. And whan certayne of theym to the numbre of seuen, were throughe a generall assent at an apoynted time and place gathered together to deuyse therupon, I resorted vnto them.

Of the text of the edition "hyndred by the lord Chauncellour that then was" we have only duplicates of a single leaf. But there are known several copies of a title-page usually bound with the undated edition of Wayland's Lydgate. This title-page reads:

In the British Museum.

A memorial | of suche Princes, as since | the tyme of King Richard | the seconde, haue been | vnfortunate in the | Realme of | Englande. | (?) | ¶ Londini | In aedibus Johannis Waylandi. | cum priuilegio per Sep= | tennium.

On the reverse of the title-page is printed a copy of Wayland's letters patent authorizing him to print the "Primers or Manual of prayers by whatsoeuer other title § same shal or may be called." The letters patent begin in the usual fashion: "Mary by the grace of God, Quene of Englande Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the faith, and in earth of the Churche of Englande, and also of Ireland, the supreme head." The date of the letters patent is indicated in the text as October 20, in the first year of Mary's reign (1553).

in the first year of Mary's reign (1553).

Only recently Mr. W. A. Jackson has brought to the attention of scholars another title-page, likewise bound at present with a copy of the undated Wayland edition of Lydgate.² This title-page gives a variant title to Lydgate's work as well as to the continuation of that

work. It reads:

The fall of | Prynces. | Gathered by Iohn Bochas, | fro the begynnyng of the world | vntyll his time, translated | into English by Iohn | Lidgate Monke | of Burye. |

• Wherunto is added the | fall of al such as since that time | were notable in Englande: | diligently collected out | of the Chronicles. | (?) | ¶ Londini | In aedibus Johannis Waylandi, | Cum priuilegio per Sep= | tennium.

The title-page of Lydgate's work with which this is usually bound reads: The trage= | dies, gathered by Ihon | Bochas, of all such Princes as | fell from theyr estates throughe | the mutability of Fortune since | the creacion of Adam, vntil his | time: wherin may be seen what | vices bring menne to destrucci= | on, wyth notable warninges | howe the like may be auoyded. | Translated into Englysh by | John Lidgate, Monke | of Burye. | ¶ Imprinted at London, by | John Wayland, at the signe | of the Sunne ouer against | the Conduite in Flete= | strete. | Cum privilegio per Sep= | tennium.

The Folger Shakespeare Library has a copy of Wayland's work with which are bound the second title-page (A memorial of suche Princes, . . .) and a copy of The bayte & snare of Fortune (by Bieston). The interesting feature is that the wormholes make it quite certain that the title-page of A memorial of suche Princes was previously bound with The bayte &

snare of Fortune and not with The tragedies, gathered by Ihon Bochas.

² W. A. Jackson, "Wayland's Edition of The Mirror for Magistrates," The Library 4th Ser., XIII, 155-57.

On the reverse of the title-page appears the address of "The Prynter to the Reader," which contributes largely toward clarifying the history of the *Mirror* as it was recorded by Baldwin. Wayland says:

While I attended the quenes hignes plesure in setting fourth an vniforme Primer to be vsed of her Subjectes, for the Printynge wherof it pleased her highnes (which I besech god long to preserue) to geue me a Privilege vnder her letters Patetes, I thought it good to employ and occupy my Print & seruauntes for that purpose prouided, about sum necessary & profitable worke. And because that sundry gentlemen very wel lerned, commended much the workes of Lydgate, chefely the fall of Prynces, which he drew out of Bochas, whereof none were to be got, after that I knew the Counsayles pleasure & aduice therein, I determined to print it, & for that purpose caused the copy to be red ouer & amended in dyuers places wher it was before eyther through the wryters or Prynters fault corrupted: for verye fewe names were true besydes muche matter dysplaced as to the conferrers may appere. Yet is it not so throughly well corrected as I would have wyshed it, by meanes of lacke of certayne copies and authours which I could not get by any meane: And yet I doubt not (Gentle reader) but thou shalt fynde it as clere as any other heretofore set fourth. To which I haue added a continuacion of that Argument, concernynge the chefe Prynces of thys Iland, penned by the best clearkes in such kinde of matters that be thys day lyuing, not vnworthy to be matched with maister Lydgate. Whose doynges do prayse theymselues, as to the indifferente reader shall appere. Wherefore I beseche the (good reader) to take in worthe these my endeuoures, and to judge and reporte of them as they do deserue. And as I shall be encouraged herein, so wyll I procede to cause other notable woorkes to be penned and translated, whiche I trust shalbe to the weale of the whole countrey and to the singuler profit of euerye subjecte: And so Imprynte the Quenes hyghnes Primer, whan I shall get the copy, as shall content her and all the Realme.

First, then, as to the date of the suppressed edition of the Mirror. Mr. Trench based his conclusion largely upon the evidence of the letters patent printed on the verso of the supplementary title-page. In brief he argued as follows: The letters patent include among the titles of Queen Mary the one in dispute, "in earth of the Churche of Englande, and also of Ireland, the supreme head." In a work published by Wayland, January 1, 1555, the printer omitted this part of the title in reciting his letters patent. This title, therefore, Mr. Trench

inferred, had necessarily fallen into disuse, for on November 30, 1554, Cardinal Pole had received England again into the body of the church, specifically recognizing the Pope as the supreme head thereof; and the "Great Bill" on January 4, 1555, "repealed at one stroke sixteen Acts of Henry VIII., and restored the supremacy of the See Apostolic." Hence he concluded that "it is clear that the altered title, necessitated by the reconciliation to the Apostolic See, was to be made use of even in the quotation of anterior documents, that the memory of disobedience might be obliterated." Further, he argued that since the words were omitted in the proclamation of the new style and title of the Queen and the King after the Queen's marriage in July, 1554, it is even probable that Wayland had also, as a good Catholic, dropped the title by that time. Finally he summarized:

I think, then, that I have conclusively proved that Wayland's edition of the Falls of Princes (with which was printed the work that is the special object of our study) was published before January 1555; and all but proved that it was before July 1554. The acceptance of Baldwin's words already quoted would have saved the trouble of investigation.

As a footnote to this final amazing assertion he added:

Baldwin wrote them, I believe, towards the end of 1558; and the work was published early in 1559.

Disregarding this last argument (which amounts in reality to a contention that, if the original date was 1554, Baldwin must have been writing in 1558 when he referred to that event as of four years past), we see that Mr. Trench's whole theory of the origin and date of the work is bound up with this inference as to the disuse of the title of supreme head of the church after the reconciliation with Rome. Now, on this matter there is ample evidence given by the official acts of the Parliament held at Westminster, November 12 to January 16, Anno primo & secundo Philippi & Mariae.

The first chapter records a law providing that all letters patent, etc., issued in the name of the Queen before her marriage, shall be of the same effect as those issued in the name of both King and Queen.

A Mirror for Magistrates: Its origin and influence, p. 7.

The eighth chapter records An Acte repealinge all Statutes, articles, and provisions, made Agaynste the Sea Apostolike of Rome, synce the .xx. yeare of Kynge Henry the eyght. Mr. Trench evidently did not consider the significance of three of the paragraphs written into the law, however, for here we find it enacted:

And that it may be further prouided and enacted, by thaucthoritie aforesayde, that albeit the tytle or stile of supremacy, or supreame head of the churche of Englande and of Irelande, or eyther of them, neuer was, ne coulde be iustelye, or lawfullye attrybuted or knowledged to anye kynge, or Soueraygne gouernoure of this realme, nor in anye wyse coulde, or myght, rightfully, iustely, or lawfullye, by anye kynge or Soueraigne gouernour of the same realme, be claymed, chalenged or vsed. Yet forasmuche as the sayde tytle and style, . . . hath ben vsed, and is mentioned and conteyned in dyuers and sondry wryttes, letters, pattentes, recordes, . . . It shalbe lawfull, aswell to, and for your maiesties, and youre soueraygne ladies heyres and successours, as to, and for euery other person, and persons, and bodies polytike and corporate, at all tyme and tymes hereafter, to haue, retayne, and kepe the sayde wryttes, letters patentes, recordes, . . . and them to shewe, exhibite, vse, alledge, and pleade, in all tymes and places requisite or nedefull, . . .

And where your hyghnes Soueraigne Lady, synce your coming to the crowne of this realme, of a good and Christen conscience, omitted to the wryte the sayde Style of Supremacye, specified in one Acte made in the parliament holden at Westminster by prorogation, in the xxxv. yeare of the reygne of your late father kynge Henry theyghte, aswell in gyftes, grauntes, letters patentes, as in commissions, and other wrytinges, and also other haue in theyr wrytinges done the same, aswell in your tyme as before. And forasmuche as notwithstandynge any lawe made concernynge the sayde Style of Supremacye, it was in the free choyse, lybertye, and pleasure of the Kynge of thys realme, and of your hyghnes, whether ye woulde expresse the same in the sayde Style or not.

Be it therfore declared and enacted by aucthoritie of this presente parliament, that all grauntes, letters patentes, commissions, . . . made in youre oure Soueraygne Ladyes name, or in the names of yours Soueraigne Lorde and Lady, or any other, wherein the sayd Style of Supremacye is omytted, is, and shalbe, to all intentes and purposes, as good and effectual,

as yf the same had ben therein expressed, and may be deteined, kept, pleaded, and alleaged, without any daunger, payne penaltie, or forfaiture, to ensue to any person or persons, or bodye politike, for, or concernynge the omission of the same Style, or any parte therof, in any suche wrytynges.

It is at once seen that Mr. Trench's inference cannot be sustained in the light of this law (the very law to which he refers, but which he evidently did not consult), for it specifically determines the right of the ruler to claim or to disclaim the title of supreme head of the church on earth, and specifically makes all letters patent equal before the law, with or without the disputed phrases. It definitely refuses, however, to punish those who omit the phrases, and by implication points out that their omission is illegal.² The title was, in truth, indifferently retained or omitted. To attempt to date the *Mirror* by the fact that these words were retained, becomes, therefore, a futile endeavor.

A real basis for dating the undertaking, however, may be found in the printer's address to the reader, on the verso of the newly discovered title-page of Lydgate's work. Wayland says that when he had secured the privilege of printing the Primer, he thought it good to employ his press and his servants in some profitable task; that at the suggestion of others he undertook to republish the Fall of Princes; that he has added a continuation by the best writers of their kind; that sufficiently encouraged he will go forward to print other works; and that he hopes so to "Imprynte the Quenes hyghnes Primer, whan I shall get the copy, as shall content her and all the Realme." Now, the Primer was actually finished by Wayland, June 4, 1555. The account of the undertaking addressed by "The Prynter to the Reader" was obviously printed before the copy for the Primer was in his hands. This double title-page must, therefore, have been printed some time before June 4, 1555. It seems to me, however, that the evidence points to this double title-page as having been a mere trial title-page, discarded before the actual printing of the work of Lydgate, for: (1) this copy of a title-page is apparently unique; (2) it obviously has been

Folio xxii, recto and verso.

² On this point see Soranzo's report of August 18, 1554, Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1534–1554, pp. 534–35. See also A. F. Pollard, The Political History of England (1919), VI, 102.

added to the copy of Lydgate with which it is now associated; and (3) it bears a different title than that which was actually given to the work when it was finally published by Wayland. This unique title-page alone bears the title, The fall of Prynces, which is the title used by Baldwin, it will be noted, when he refers to the work he is undertaking to continue in the field of English history; all other copies of the undated Wayland edition of Lydgate bear the title of The tragedies, gathered by Ihon Bochas. Also, this alone refers to the continuation as "the fall of al such as since that time were notable in Englande," whereas the usual supplementary title-page bears the title, "A memorial of suche Princes, . . ."

That the undertaking had its inception, then, some time before June 4, 1555, seems an incontrovertible fact. But that the obstacle which prevented its being finished was the receipt of the copy for the Primer, which at once occupied Wayland's presses, seems also to be indicated. However, the *Primer* being published, the presses were again freed, and it appears probable that Wayland then at once resumed the printing of Lydgate's Fall of Princes and its continuation, using new and separate title-pages for the original work and for the continuation. But again the work was interfered with, for this time the continuation was "hyndred by the lord Chauncellour that then was" when part of it had already been printed. I do not see, however, that Mr. Trench and Miss Feasey need to seek for any personal animosity toward Baldwin or Ferrers to explain the chancellor's interference, for the royal proclamation of June 13, 1555, gives a clear reason why any mirrors of history, and particularly any mirrors based upon Hall's *Chronicle*, should be "hyndred." This proclamation was directed to the suppression of undesirable works, chiefly those of the leaders of the Reformation. The proclamation, issued in the name of King Philip and Queen Mary, specifically forbade bringing into England any works of the writers named, required that all who had such works in their possession turn them over to the authorities, ordered

¹ At the request of the Huntington Library Mr. Geoffrey Tillotson, of the University of London, investigated the matter and reported: "The part of the t. p. which was printed on and part of the margin which was written on in ink was cut out of the original leaf (either of this copy or another) & grafted on to a sheet of alien paper. [Among other indications the chain lines do not correspond.]" Professor Sisson and Dr. Greg indorsed this report.

that persons suspected of harboring such works be apprehended, and forbade anyone to write, print, or read these books. The proclamation was probably the most drastic issued against the printed word, and the only book it mentioned by name was "the boke commonly called Halles Cronycles."

But Hall's *Chronicle* was the basis of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, as was freely admitted throughout the work. Consistently, Baldwin explains in the prose links between the tragedies that in certain facts Fabian and Hall differ, but in every case he accepts the judgment of

Hall. Once he explains:

This disagreynge of wryters is a great hinderaunce of the truthe, & no small cumbrauns to such as be diligent readers, besides the harme that may happen in succession of herytages. It were therfore a wurthye and a good dede for the nobilytie, to cause all the recordes to be sought, & a true and perfecte cronicle therout to be wrytten. vnto which we refer the decydyng of this, & of all other lyke controversies, gevyng this to vnderstand in ŷ mean tyme, That no man shall thinke his title eyther better or wurse by any thing that is wrytten in any part of thys treatyse. For the onlye thynge which is purposed herin, is by example of others miseries, to diswade all men from all sinnes and vices. If by the way we touche any thing concernyng titles, we follow therin Halles cronicle. And where we seme to swarve from hys reasos and causes of dyuers doynges, there we gather vpon coniecture such thinges as seeme most probable, or at the least most convenient for the furderaunce of our purpose.²

The Mirror not only used Hall as its authority, but explicitly defended him, in the 1559 edition at least, and explained through the ghost of Lord John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, just why "he felt the whip":

This doeth appere (I dare say) by my story, Which divers writers diversly declare, But story writers ought for neyther glory, Feare, nor favour, truth of thinges to spare. But still it fares as alway it did fare,

The proclamation is printed in full in Arber, Transcript, I, 10, v.

² The prose link here quoted occurs on folios lxxxxviii, verso, and lxxxxix, recto, of the 1563 edition. Similar references to Hall are to be found in the edition of 1559, folios xv, verso, and xvi, and folio lxxv, as well as in the defense quoted below from folio lxv.

Affection, feare, or doubtes that dayly brue, Do cause that stories never can be true.

Vnfruytfull Fabyan folowed the face
Of time and dedes, but let the causes slip:
Whych Hall hath added, but with double grace,
For feare I thinke least trouble might him trip:
For this or that (sayeth he) he felt the whip.¹
Thus story writers leave the causes out,
Or so rehears them, as they wer in dout.

But seing causes are the chiefest thinges
That should be noted of the story wryters,
That men may learne what endes al causes bringes
They be vnwurthy the name of Croniclers,
That leave them cleane out of their registers,
Or doubtfully report them: for the fruite
Of reading stories, standeth in the suite.

And therfore Baldwin eyther speake vpright Of our affayres, or touche them not at all.

That this passage in the Earl of Worcester's tragedy was added after June 13, 1555, seems probable, but that the proclamation so specifically directed against Hall's *Chronicle* must have justified "the lord Chauncellour that then was" in hindering a work openly based upon it seems also clear.

I should, therefore, reconstruct the history of the first printing of the Mirror, in accord with the statements of both Wayland and Baldwin, as follows: While his presses were idle, awaiting the copy of the Primer, Wayland undertook to print Lydgate's Fall of Princes, with a continuation by the leading writers of his day. He had printed a trial title-page when the copy came for the Primer. The Primer was off his presses June 4, 1555, and they were again free. He started to print the work of Lydgate and its continuation, with new title-pages. The proclamation of June 13, 1555, directed specifically against Hall, gave ground for the hindering of the continuation of Lydgate confessedly based upon the forbidden work, though the original work of Lyd-

In this quotation I have used italics to emphasize an important passage.

gate was unmolested. Four years later, with a change of rulers, Lord Stafford succeeded in securing permission for the publication of the work previously "hyndred," though even then certain tragedies were not printed for one reason or another, some being added in 1563, two

of the most important not appearing until 1578.2

It may well be that the authors of the Mirror for Magistrates talked over the plan for the Mirror long before the reign of Mary, for they had ample opportunity. That the tragedies gathered together to make up the Mirror were not all written at one time is also evident. Skelton's poem on Edward IV, quoted as the closing poem of the 1559 volume, must have been written before 1529, the date of Skelton's death. Churchyard tells us in Churchyard's Challenge that he wrote the tragedy of Jane Shore during the reign of Edward VI.3 But that Baldwin is referring to Wayland when he gives his account of the printer who purposed to print Lydgate's Fall of Princes, and who, having made privy thereto "many both honourable and worshipfull," decided to continue the work by tales of fallen English princes, seems to me incontrovertible in view of the newly discovered account by Wayland which substantiates Baldwin's statement in every particular. To this extent, at least, Wayland, and not Sackville (as Warton would have it) or Whitchurch (as Mr. Trench and Miss Feasey would have it), must be regarded as the "primary inventor." As to who first conceived the idea, there is not at present the slightest shred of evidence upon which to base any conjecture whatsoever. So much for Mr. Trench's second point.

Mr. Trench made, however, a third assertion which needs to be

reconsidered, for he affirmed:

² I have discussed these two tragedies, added in 1578, in an article in *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 5 (April, 1934), pp. 119-55.

W. Carew Hazlitt, Collections and Notes, 1867–1876, I (London, 1876), 42, records of The tragedies, gathered by Ihon Bochas, . . .: "On the title-page of the copy here described is: "This booke was bought in the yere of Or Lorde god 1555." Unseen by Herbert, . . . Wayland, doubtless, issued the book frequently between 1554-60: the present was perhaps the earliest impression."

³ Joseph Ritson, Observations on the three first volumes of English Poetry (1782), p. 423, claimed that the tragedy of Buckingham was not Sackville's but a ballad "still extant" and "lately printed." He probably referred to the ballad on the Duke of Buckingham in Thomas Evans' Old Ballads (1784), II, 22-26.

And this [that Whitchurch is the printer referred to] is rendered the more certain by the fact that all the other writers, as well as Baldwin, were Protestants; Wayland's relations would have been with the orthodox. So Whitchurch was the printer to whom Baldwin referred; and his identity will be useful to us.¹

Nowhere does Mr. Trench make a more misleading statement. In the first place, as he himself shows, Baldwin, who in 1549 was "servant to Edward Whitchurch," was certainly associated in 1555 with Wayland, who in 1553 had taken over Whitchurch's shop. The fact is attested by Wayland's publication in 1555 of a new edition of Baldwin's Treatise of Moral Philosophy revised by the author, as well as by his choosing Baldwin to arrange the continuation of Lydgate's work. Baldwin was still a member of the Company of Stationers in 1556, as Mr. Trench has also shown, and had therefore presumably continued with Wayland. At any rate, Wayland was having dealings with Baldwin. But Baldwin was evidently not out of favor at court during Mary's reign. His play bearing the title with which he marked all his works, "Love and Live," was presented before the Queen during the season of 1556-57.3

Next to Baldwin in importance in promoting the *Mirror* was George Ferrers. He, too, continued active in affairs under Mary. He seems to have presented plays at court; he helped to suppress Wyatt's rebellion; he gave the Privy Council information concerning the Princess (later Queen) Elizabeth which caused her to be sequestered and her astrologer, Dr. John Dee, and other officers of her household to be questioned and quietly guarded in isolation for months; he was active

during Elizabeth's reign in behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots.4

Sir Thomas Chaloner was another of the contributors whose name was mentioned in the suppressed edition of the *Mirror*. Of Welsh extraction, as Baldwin probably was, he remained a trusted officer

⁴ See Sir Sidney Lee's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and see also my article (cited above).

¹ Op. cit., p. 15. ² Ibid., p. 14.

³ For an account of this play see A. Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary (The Loseley Manuscripts), pp. 215-17. See also F. Brie, "William Baldwin als Dramatiker," Anglia, XXXVIII, 157-71.

throughout Mary's reign, and in February, 1555/6, was sent on a

particularly difficult mission to Scotland.

Dr. Thomas Phaer, the supposed author of the tragedy of Owen Glendower, another Welshman — by adoption at least — was the translator of *The seuen first bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill*, which he dedicated to Queen Mary in 1558 in most fulsome terms. He described himself as "sollicitour to the king and quenes maiesties, attending their honorable coūsaile in the Marchies of Wales." Phaer's will requested his friend George Ferrers to write his epitaph. He left a sum of money to be expended according to an agreement between him and his wife, and Sir Sidney Lee says in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that this item "is believed to refer to the commemorative rites of the Roman catholic church, and is held to prove, in the presence of Phaer's loyal dedication of his 'Æneid' to Queen Mary, that he adhered to the old faith." ²

These four are the authors most certainly numbered among the seven who were gathered to create the *Mirror*. To say, as Mr. Trench does, that "all the other writers, as well as Baldwin, were Protestants," and that "Wayland's relations would have been with the orthodox," is to deny the facts. The Protestantism of Ferrers and of Phaer seems attributable to opportunism rather than conviction, to politics rather than religion. Baldwin and Chaloner were honored men throughout the reign of Queen Mary. All four were influential enough to make Wayland glad to have dealings with them.

The fourth and last conclusion of Mr. Trench which I propose to discuss is that the date when permission for publication was finally granted, through the good offices of Lord Stafford, was 1558. As I have already shown, the chief reason advanced by Mr. Trench for his

"Master Chaloner" is referred to in a prose link of the suppressed edition as the speaker who had recited the tragedy of Richard II. An adequate account of his activity

during the reign of Mary is found in the Dictionary of National Biography.

² Phaer's authorship of the tragedy of Owen Glendower was not indicated until the edition of 1571. It is still doubtful whether Phaer or Baldwin should have the credit. As for the others included among the seven who Baldwin says were gathered together for the undertaking, we are quite uncertain. Cavyll is later identified as the author of the tragedy of the Two Mortimers, but we are not sure enough of his identity to make any pertinent inferences. In the 1563 edition, Cavyll, Dolman, Segar, and Churchyard, as well as Sackville, are named as authors of tragedies. I have listed here, for the sake of argument, only writers whose contributions seem quite certainly to have been included in the suppressed edition.

conclusion is that 1558 is four years later than 1554, and consequently that if the first attempt at publication was in 1554 the second must have been in 1558. Certainly it is much more likely that a new attempt to publish the *Mirror* would have been made in 1559, under a new queen and a new chancellor. Furthermore, Lord Stafford was in favor with Elizabeth. Finally, the *Mirror* was actually published in 1559, and Baldwin himself wrote in 1563 that the first part had been "licenced, and imprynted the fyrst yeare of the raygne of this our most noble and vertuous Queene." This statement seems to me to settle the matter. At any rate, the history of the *Mirror* and its first printing appear explicable without recourse to inferences concerning the personal animosities of the Lord Chancellor.

The revision of the history of the *Mirror* is important, then, in order that it may be viewed as a work of political and historical significance, a work not primarily dependent upon religious prejudice for its

reasons for being — or for not-being.

Hamlet's Book

By HARDIN CRAIG

FEW lines before the "To be or not to be" soliloquy in the first quarto edition of Hamlet (1603) occur these words, spoken by the King: "see where hee comes poring vppon a booke." They suggest that in the original form of the play, or in stage tradition, Hamlet was thought of as having a book in his hand when he spoke the soliloquy. In any case Francis Douce remarks, with reference to the allusions to sleep and death in Act III, Scene i, lines 60-68: "There is a good deal on this subject in Cardanus's Comforte, 1576, a book which Shakespeare had certainly read.2 In folio 30 it is said: 'In holy scripture, death is not accompted other than sleape, and to dye is sayde to sleape." Joseph Hunter goes further. "This seems to be the book," he says of Cardan's Comforte, "which Shakespeare placed in the hands of Hamlet ... the following passages seem to approach so near to the thoughts of Hamlet that we can hardly doubt that they were in the Poet's mind when he put this speech into the mouth of his hero: 'How much were it better to follow the counsel of Agathius, who right well commended death, saying, that it did not only remove sickness and all other grief, but also, when all other discommodities of life did happen to man often, it never would come more than once. . . . Seeing, therefore, with such ease men die, what should we account of death to be resembled to anything better than sleep, &c.... Most assured it is that such sleeps be most sweet as be most sound, for those are the best where in like unto dead men we

Illustrations of Shakespeare (London, 1839), II, 238.

² There are two editions of Thomas Bedingfeld's translation of Girolamo Cardano's De consolatione. The first, a quarto, is: Cardanus Comforte translated into Englishe. And published by commaundement of the right honourable the Earle of Oxenford. Anno Domini. 1573. Imprinted at London in Fleetestreate, neare to S. Dunstones Churche by Thomas Marshe. Cum Priuilegio. The second, an octavo, was by the same printer, "Newly perused, corrected, and augmented," 1576. The edition used in this paper is the first.

³ New Illustrations of Shakespeare (London, 1845), II, 243.

dream nothing. The broken sleeps, the slumber, the dreams full of visions, are commonly in them that have weak and sickly bodies." [All three citations, which are separately paragraphed, are referred to "book ii."]

Hunter also compares the expression, "who would fardels bear," to the following couplet from Thomas Churchyard's verses "To the

Reader" prefixed to Bedingfeld's translation:

This booke bewrayes what wretched wracke, belongs to life of man, What burthens bore he on hys backe, since first this world began.

The editors of the Clarendon Press edition of Hamlet remark that "These resemblances to Cardan are not very striking." However that may be, they are more numerous and of a more fundamental character than even Hunter seems to have realized. Indeed, it may be said, without great exaggeration and irrespective of whether or not Shake-speare presented his hero as reading in this particular book just before he spoke his soliloquy, that Cardan's De consolatione is pre-eminently "Hamlet's book," since the philosophy of Hamlet agrees to a remarkable degree with that of Cardan.

Before attempting to summarize the points of agreement between *Hamlet* and *De consolatione*, one may point out that belief in the therapeutic power of books was characteristic of Renaissance students. If a hero found himself stricken with grief, as Hamlet did, it was natural that he should resort to a work on consolation. Cardan wrote *De consolatione* to comfort himself and all those stricken with grief:

But the memory, of euils is so setled and manifolde, as wanting good persuasion doth neuer cease to torment the minde, but from one discontented imaginacion to an other, from one calamitie or miserie to an other, continually leadeth on our displeasing thoughts And for that cause we haue framed this boke, which although it profiteth nothinge to driue awaye the cares and anxietie of minde in others, yet shall I therein not a litle content my self, for which respect chiefly I toke the matter in hand. [A I^v.] ^I

Cardan's De consolatione is a very general book of comfort and belongs to a large family of such works, all much alike, so that it is diffi-

¹ See the more obvious passage, from folio I 4^v, quoted below (p. 30). Bacon's views on the curative function of books are to be found in the essay "Of Studies," in *The Advancement of Learning* (beginning of Bk. II), and elsewhere.

cult to say whether particular citations came from Cardan rather than from another writer of his time or from one of his sources. He lists many of his authors, but perhaps not all of them. He says (I 1r), "the learned by readinge of Cicero, chiefelye his bookes, De Finibus bonorum, his Tusculane questions, his Paradox, and De Senectute, Plutarchus, Petrarchus & Boetius, with diuers others, shal finde no small remedye in all calamities." At the time Cardan composed De consolatione, he had just finished a careful perusal of all the extant works of Cicero. He was widely read in Christian literature and knew Erasmus, Seneca, and probably Epictetus, so that De consolatione is in some respects a summation of the existent literature of comfort. It also reflects certain features peculiar to Cardan himself. If these were discernible in Hamlet, we might be sure that Shakespeare had read the book. Likewise, if we should find both in Hamlet and Cardan allocations of ideas peculiar to them, we might arrive at something like certainty that the two works are related; but merely to notice the commonplaces of the subject of consolation in Hamlet and in Cardan would not, however interesting, be evidence of Shakespeare's dependence on Cardan's De consolatione.

One may gain an impression of the extent of the literature of comfort by considering the groups composing it. The ancient sources were not only Cicero, Plutarch, and Boethius, whom Cardan mentions, but also, and especially, Seneca. To these are to be added the Christian fathers, Ambrose, Cyprian, and Bernard of Clairvaux, together with Erasmus. Cardan's contemporary, Philippe de Mornay, was a writer of great importance in the field. His Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort 2 was translated by Edward Aggas as The Defence of Death 3 and by the Countess of Pembroke as A Discourse of Life and Death. 4 With Mornay's discourse are coupled what are called on the title-page of Aggas's translation Certain Collections gathered out of the lerned Philosopher Seneca concerning the same argument (namely, out of Epistles 24, 26, 30, 36, 50, 57, 62, 72, 78, 94, 100, 102, 103, 108, 121, and out of De tranquilitate vitae, De brevitate vitae, and De providentia — a most

Henry Morley, The Life of Girolamo Cardano, of Milan, Physician (London, 1854), II,

² La Rochelle, 1581. ³ John Allde, 1576, 1577. ⁴ J. Windet, 1592; R. Field, 1600; H. Lownes, 1606, 1607.

significant body of selections). Mornay also collected, and apparently translated into French, a work which found its way into English: Six Excellent Treatises of Life and Death. This collection is composed of the Axiochus (attributed to Plato), a "Discourse of Tullius Cicero concerning Death" (the first book of the Tusculan Disputations), the collections from Seneca above described, the De mortalitate of St. Cyprian, a treatise of St. Ambrose touching the benefit and happiness of death (Two Books on the Decease of his Brother Satyrus?), and, finally, a group made up of certain places of Scripture, prayers, and meditations concerning life and death. These treatises are fairly representative of the current tradition.

The works of Plutarch to which Cardan refers are certainly his Consolatio ad Apollonium, his consolatory letter addressed to his wife; also, in all likelihood, other essays in the Moralia. Of Petrarch, Cardan knew De remediis utriusque fortunae, probably Secretum de contemptu mundi, and possibly Epistolae de rebus familiaribus and Epistolae de rebus senilibus. It is significant of the popularity of Petrarch that the Countess of Pembroke translated Il trionfo della morte?

Thus, we have the stoical writings, which entered into and affected the Christian writings. We have also a widespread variety of consolatory literature — either Christian or pagan — which may be described as De contemptu mundi. The most extensive treatment of this theme is the long poem by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Contemptus mundi was a favorite subject with Erasmus and with literally scores of other sixteenth-century authors. Lists in various forms of the woes of human existence are to be found in many Elizabethan writings. De consolatione philosophiae is a very general work of consolation, agreeing with Plato and Aristotle, on the one side, and with the Stoics, on the other, and, at the same time, helping to shape Christian doctrine. Its influence may appear at any time and from almost any quarter. Not only was Erasmus' De contemptu mundi at hand, but also his De morte declamatio and other works of Christian consolation by him or others.

² Frances Berkeley Young, "The Triumphe of Death Translated out of Italian by the Countesse of Pembrooke," PMLA, XXVII, 47-75.

¹ H. L. for Mathew Lownes, 1607. De Mornay's French version was published at Geneva (Lausanne), 1581; see *The Axiochus of Plato*, translated by Edmund Spenser (ed. Frederick Morgan Padelford; Baltimore, 1934), pp. 14–15.

The Enchiridion itself has to do with man's reconciliation with his miseries. Other writings which may have carried into the world of the Renaissance some part of the stream of ancient consolatory literature are: Guillaume Du Vair's The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks, translated by Thomas James, Fellow of New College, Oxford; and the still more important Theatrum mundi of Pierre Boaistuau, of which there were issued in England two editions of a translation into French and three editions of John Alday's translation into English. The Theatrum mundi is based largely on St. Augustine's De civitate Dei, and would therefore introduce into an assemblage already large, ideas from St. Augustine on the subject of human consolation—ideas that might have appeared at any time as direct borrowings from De civitate Dei. With the Essais of Montaigne comes another work containing extensive restatements of the consolatory literature of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance.

The foregoing sketch will have indicated awareness of the danger of assigning any of the more familiar ideas about comfort and consolation frequently met with in Elizabethan literature to any particu-

lar source to the exclusion of others.

To Douce's and Hunter's parallels to Cardan in the remarks on the likeness of sleep and death in Hamlet's soliloquy, it is possible to add a number of even more striking agreements. The comparison occurs frequently. It is the κασίγνητος θανάτοιο of Homer (Iliad xiv. 231) and the "they which sleep in Jesus" of St. Paul (I Thess. 4:14). The thought is in the Tusculan Disputations (i. 92). Plutarch (Consolatio ad Apollonium, 12) has a passage that includes the identical quotation from Socrates which Cardan uses. Indeed, Cardan follows Plutarch very closely throughout his discussion of death. An even closer parallel, and one which must derive significance because of its contiguity with the one cited by Hunter, is on the next page in the translation of Cardan (D 3^v):

For there is nothing that doth better or moore truely prophecy the ende of lyfe, then when a man dreameth, that he doth trauayle and wander into farre countries, and chiefly, if he imagineth hym selfe to ryde vppon a

³ E. Bollifant, 1587; G. Bishop, 1595.

Felix Kingston, 1598. 2 Paris, 1558, 1561.

⁴ H. Denham, 1566?; H. Bynneman, 1574; T. East, 1581.

whyte horse, that is swyfte, and that he trauayleth in countries vnknowen wythout hope of retourne, in such sort naturallye deuyninge of that shortlye wyll come to passe in dede.

Not only does this passage contain the essence of

The undiscover'd country from whose bourn No traveller returns,

but it seems to indicate that Shakespeare's lines reflect Cardan's characteristic interest in dreams and portents.

Peter Whalley in An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare (London, 1748), pp. 68-69, says that a learned gentleman has noticed the conformity between Hamlet's idea and lines in Plato's Apology (40): "Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good, for one of two things:— either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. . . . Now if death is like this, I say that to die is gain; for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this?" [The Dialogues of Plato, tr. B. Jowett (Oxford, 1871), I, 354-55.]

H. R. D. Anders, in Shakespeare's Books (Berlin, 1904), in a summary (pp. 274-75) of a portion of the same material as that dealt with in this note, calls attention to the fact that the passage is translated by Cicero (Tusculanae Disputationes i. 97-99) and quoted by Stobaeus and Eusebius. Plutarch, in Consolatio ad Apollonium (107 D ff.), gives a paraphrase of the reasoning. Anders also cites Xenophon's Cyropaedia (viii. 7, 19 ff.), where the dying Cyrus speaks as Socrates does in the Apology. Montaigne repeats the same thoughts, which also occur in Mornay's Discours. Whalley compares Hamlet's "undiscover'd country" to Catullus

(III. v. 11):

Qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum Illuc, unde negant redire quenquam —

a comparison usually attributed to George Steevens. Anders cites further analogues from Anacreon, Theocritus, Sanford's translation of Cornelius Agrippa's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*, and from Marlowe's *Edward II* (V, vi, 63–65). Douce (*Illustrations*, II, 238) notes that Seneca, in *De morte Claudii*, alludes to the lines in Catullus; and Nathan Drake (*Shakespeare and His Times* [London, 1817], I, 571) adds still further analogues: one from *Palmerin d'Oliva* (Pt. II, Chap. 111), which he says he took from a correspondent, signing himself "W," in *The British Bibliographer* (No. II, p. 148); the other, from the same correspondent, is from *Valentine and Orson*. Part of Drake's material comes from Douce (II, 240), who recognizes that the Catullan quotation, ranging down to the seventeenth century, was common property. J. Churton Collins, in *Studies in Shakespeare* (London, 1904), pp. 82–83, declares that Hamlet's soliloquy and Claudio's similar speech in *Measure for Measure* (III, i, 124 ff.) are "little more than superbly embellished adaptations" of lines occurring in the fragments of the *Phoenix* of Euripides quoted by Stobaeus (cxxi. 12). He also compares these passages to the Chorus (ll. 1211–48) in *Oedipus Coloneus*.

Another parallel to part of the soliloquy is to be found in Cardan:

[N 5^v] But wee are most assured not onely to sleape, but also dye: and as long to lyue we cannot, so how far we are from death is to vs vnknowen. Wherfore to bear every thinge resolutely, is not onely the parte of a wise man, but also of a man wel aduised, seinge that there is nothing in this life, that may iustly be said to be against vs. Therefore Homerus fayned Aten [N 6^r] the Goddes of Calamitye, to be barefooted, as one that could not touch any thing sharpe or hard, but walked lightly vpon the heades of mortall men. Meaninge that Calamity durst not come nere anye, but such as were of base minde, simple, & subject to effeminacy. But among such as were valiant and armed with vertue, shee durst not come. . . . Onelye honestye and vertue of mynde doth make a man happy, and onely a cowardlie and corrupt conscience, do cause thine vnhappines.

The passage is significant because it offers an interpretation of Shakespeare's thought in certain lines always regarded as obscure (III, i, 83–88):

Thus conscience does make cowards of us all; And thus the native hue of resolution Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, And enterprises of great pitch and moment With this regard their currents turn awry, And lose the name of action.

Scholars have interpreted "conscience" variously, as "sense of right and wrong," as "consciousness, inmost thought," and as "exercise of conscious thought, speculation on the future." Now, Cardan's Comforte is a typical Renaissance document in its insistence on virtue: man's remedy for the multitudinous ills of life lies within him; he must exercise fortitude, control his own mind, and above all he must act. Cardan says plainly that our consciences tell us we are cowards, indolent cowards; and this seems to be Hamlet's meaning. The passage is placed in Cardan in much the same context as in Hamlet, and it indicates that Hamlet's words do not refer to moral scruples about suicide or, as Coleridge would have it, to overactivity of the thought processes. Both Cardan and Hamlet are discussing

the respect That makes calamity of so long life.

Both say it is fear of death (not fear of committing suicide), both assert that this fear of death is part of man's cowardice, for which his conscience reproves him, and both insist that lack of *virtue* is the reason that calamity continues to assail him. The effect of this interpretation is to make Hamlet's soliloquy more general in its scope and less restricted to Hamlet himself.

This becomes the more apparent from the fact that Hamlet had already been considering suicide from a narrower point of view. Here he generalizes the case quite in Cardan's terms, looking at his own case as an illustration of the lack of virtue in humanity. The earlier soliloquy, which considers suicide less broadly, contains the following lines (I, ii, 129–32):

O, that this too too solid flesh would melt, Thaw and resolve itself into a dew! Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!

The passage is important in this study because it links *Hamlet* to Cardan in a significant fashion. The first two of the four lines just quoted are closely paralleled in Plutarch (*Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 15), whom Cardan is following, and in *De consolatione* in several places. Plutarch quotes Epicharmus: "It was united, it is now dissolved; it returns back whence it came, earth sinks to earth, the spirit ascends above." As to the last two lines, editors of Shakespeare have not been able to find any "canon" of the "Everlasting" "gainst self-slaughter." Interestingly enough, Cardan, in giving instances of suicide, furnishes a statement very analogous to Hamlet's, for he says (H 8"):

In lyke maner dyed *Corellius Rufus* to anoyde the paynes of the goute. But oure Lawes ³ do not permit any man to procure his owne death: and for good reason: For that nothing shoulde be intollerable to a Christian man (onelye extreame tormente) which the Lawe doth not allowe, yet by law is permitted.

¹ See also Tusculan Disputations, i. 18.

3 By "oure Lawes" Cardan means laws governing Christians.

² The Variorum Shakespeare, edited by H. H. Furness (Hamlet; notes on Act I, Sc. ii, l. 132). Cf. Cymbeline, III, iv, 78–80, and King Lear, IV, vi, 221–24. Collins, op. cit., pp. 162–64, thinks Shakespeare's attitude toward suicide very like that of Sophocles.

Another passage in Cardan, as translated by Bedingfeld, is worth quoting in connection with Hamlet's soliloquy, both because of its content and its phraseology. He is dealing with the woes of kingship (quite in the vein of King Henry IV) and observes (I 8^v):

At length to bed, where before sleape he museth of many displeasant matters, howe many men are or must be executed, though not altogether iustly, yet necessarily, What practises are made, what feare, what enuy, what iniury, what warre, what spoyle, what subuersion of Citties, what suspicion of death, and last of all desyreth eyther not to be, or els to enioy a more quiet life. . . . And admitte he doth sleape, in sleapynge he meeteth vnquiet ymaginacyons, fearfull dreames & visyons.

One other extract, not in the soliloquy, may possibly be sufficiently related in phraseology to warrant its inclusion. Compare the following passage from Hamlet (V, ii, 349-55) with Cardan (E 7^{r}):

Thou livest; report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied.

Hor. Never believe it:
I am more an antique Roman than a Dane:
Here's yet some liquor left.

Ham. As thou'rt a man,
Give me the cup: let go; by heaven, I'll have't.

Compare this dialogue with:

The death of *Phocion* was more noble [even than the death of Theramon] he seing his frend desyrous to drinke poison didde stay him, after findinge that which was not left to suffise did buy more, saying that in Athens a man was forced to buy his own death. . . . As the Galathians, did so little regarde Deathe, as they feared not to fighte Naked. So did also manye noble Romaines and Germaines that nedelesse it wer to resyte their names.

The death of Phocion is a commonplace, but coupling it, as Cardan

does, with the "noble Romaines" lends importance to it.

In addition to the foregoing parallels, which seem to be marked with some special signum, there is a really very large body of resemblances between Cardan's Comforte and Shakespeare's Hamlet, which, though they may represent borrowings or suggestions from Cardan, cannot be said with certainty to have come from him rather than

from some other source. They are here enumerated, therefore, not as proof of the kinship of the works, but for the larger purpose of elucidation of the play. There is a real likeness between Hamlet's pessimism and Cardan's, but of greater importance is the similarity of the remedies they strive to apply. Both are skeptical, ranging freely from a Christian to a pagan position, and both are intensely conscious of immediate personal aspects. In common they commend death and regard suicide as reasonable but forbidden, and consider the fear of death unworthy. Both insist, in the presence of poignant ills of life, that "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," and they believe that perfect virtue will save them and all men as well. Hamlet commemorates "a sea of troubles" when he cries (I, ii, I33–37):

How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable, Seem to me all the uses of this world! Fie on't! ah fie! 'tis an unweeded garden, That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature Possess it merely.

He further speculates (III, i, 70-77):

For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life, . . .

Also he declares that Denmark is a prison (II, ii, 245-57), that man delights him not (II, ii, 306-23), and that all occasions inform against him (IV, iv, 32-39). The thoughts in these passages are paralleled even to the correctives proposed; and there is a counterpart for Hamlet's answer, just before the duel, to Horatio's advice that he obey the misgivings of his mind (V, ii, 230-35):

Not a whit, we defy augury: there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all: since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?

Cardan puts the idea in these words:

[E 1^v] Surelye euerye lyfe is long that is continued till death sith at the beginning thy terme is destined, . . . the nomber of dayes and monthes is appointed by God: he hath set the terme which cannot be passed. . . . [E 2^r] But the life of man must not be accompted longe or shorte: in respecte of his yeares. The life of all mortall men is but shorte: because wyth death it shalbe most certainlye ended: It is vertue & worthy actes that maketh the life longe, and idlenes that shortneth thy dayes. . . . [E 7^r] Do neyther seke nor shonne: the ende of thine owne lyfe. . . . [E 7^r] [Death comes] that goodmen without enuy might be honoured, and euil Men without feare condempned, and that riches and aucthority . . . might not be regarded.

Cardan states over and over again the general case for the woes and miseries of mankind; so also does Shakespeare, but in no other play in quite the same tone as in *Hamlet*. The following extracts from Cardan are pertinent:

[A IV] And wel we see ther is none aliue that in euery respect may be accompted happie, yea though mortall men were free from all calamities, yet the torments & feare of death should stil offend them But besides them, behold, what, and how manye euilles there bee, that vnlesse the cloude of error bee remoued, impossible it is to see the truth, or receive allay of our earthly woes. . . . [A 3^v] Some men do hold for true opinion that albeit, man may sustaine one kind of calamity, yet the sufferance of so sondrye myseries is not to be found in any. Wherfore of private & simple euils in general we wyl first take in hand to wryte, next we shall entreate of sorrow and death eyther of our selues or nere frendes: In the seconde booke, and in the last, we wyl not omit to speake of tormente, bondage, imprisonment, exile, iniury of old age, pouertye, & in general of many miseries assembled togethers. . . . [B 2^r] Some there be who not vnlyke to gudgines, knowinge the hooke lyeth hydden within the bayt, doth notwithstandynge, drawen on with gredynes of Uenus ioyes, or suche lyke fonde delighte cast themselues into apparant misaduentures. Men say that the gudgine, craftelye (and yet foolishely) doth firste with her tayle beate the bayte from the hooke, but if that auayleth not, do forthwith assay to byte it. To what purpose shoulde a man with such pervl playe the parasyte, when otherwise hee mighte safelye lyue? . . . [E 4v] What is it in this life that can delighte? dailye trouble to

¹ See The Merchant of Venice, I, i, 102.

apparell and vnapparell thy selfe, hunger, thyrste, sleepe not so plentiful nor quiet as dead men haue, heate in Sommer, colde in Winter, disorder of time, terrour of warres, controlemente of parentes, cares of wedlocke, studye for children, slouthe of seruaunts, contention of sutes, and that (whiche is moste of all) the condition of time, wherein honestye is disdayned as follye, and crafte is honoured as Wysedome.

The personal and private woes of Cardan are also dealt with at length. They are numerous and genuine, and he wrote his book in order to find comfort for them. There is no more deserving man in the annals of the sixteenth century than Jerome Cardan, and few suffered more cruelly at the hands of fate. He tells the full story of the misfortunes of his childhood and youth, his poverty, his ill health, the shame of his illegitimate birth, the unkindness of his father, and the insolence of office from which he suffered when the physicians of Padua mercilessly and unjustly denied him the grace for his degree (I 3^r ff.). "For what prayse," he says, "canne base parentage bee, the displease of my father, frendes, and Countreye, my healthe hindered, my fortune vnfrendlye, myne estate poore, and nexte to beggerye" [I 4^r]. The kindly, sensitive man's account of the evils he has encountered in life is passionate and intimate, his state of mind like that of Hamlet. "Such hath beene the course of my lyfe, crased wyth continuall & greate calamityes" [I 3"]. In these circumstances, death is to be commended, though it may not be sought; yet it is not to be feared. Like Hamlet he does not set his life at a pin's fee, for he, too, has felt the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune."

In one of his Christian moments he writes:

[A 5^v] So great is this comfort [heavenly glory], that if ther were not manye that swerued in fayth, the holy office of comforting were al ready finished, who wold not chaunge this short life, with that life euerlasting? this frayl with that fyrme? this vnhappy, with that most happy[?] this troublesome, withe that most equiet? but in wante of beleefe is synne, and in synne is wante of beliefe: where by the condicion of man is berefte bothe of hope & faith, . . . [B 5^r] Call to memory how many worthy men haue vndeseruingly & cruelly by fortune bene cast downe, and patiently suffered her most extreme disgrace. . . . [D 2^r] Alas what euyll can it be to want honger, thyrst, gryefe, labor, sadnesse, feare, and fynallye the whoole heape of euylles, whych the soule beynge parted from the bodye we must of neces-

sitye want, and seinge it dyeth not, but in stede of these troubles, enioyeth heauenly ioyes.

The point is that Cardan, in common with Hamlet, is convinced of the reality of the ills of life. Now and then he breaks down and confesses that "oftentimes, though reason comforte vs and teache vs that neither mourninge is meete, neither that ther is anye cause of mourninge, yet the sad mynde of it selfe can not be merie" [B 7]. He therefore feels constrained to adopt as a means of relief two familiar stoical maxims, both of which are current in *Hamlet*: man is but his mind; there are no ills in life but only in imagination. Moreover, man must meet his trials with valiancy and fortitude. The former of these thoughts is central to Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*, 4th prose), and is in Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations*, v, 46 ff., et passim), in Seneca (*De consolatione* xix, and elsewhere), and of course in Plato and Aristotle.

In his scene with the newly arrived Rosencranz and Guildenstern (II, ii, 226 ff.), Hamlet declares that Denmark is a prison. When they disagree, he answers, "Why, then, 'tis none to you; for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." He expresses the same thought elsewhere. Cardan harps on it:

[A IV] But the memory of euils is so setled and manifolde, as wanting good persuasion doth neuer cease to torment the minde, but from one discontented imaginacion to an other, from one calamitie or miserie to an other, continually leadeth on our displeasing thoughts. . . . [A 4^r] so as of no nacion I thinke a man better or more fytlye named then of the Spaniard, who in their language do terme a man, shadow. . . . So greate is the masse of worldly miseries, as this lyfe is eyther for wicked folke, or by some wicked god appoynted. But when I duly consyder al, I leave this common opynion as altogether vntrue: & perceive that in this lyfe ther is nothing found that may justly be called good or euyll, & do allow of those phylosophers as wyse, who thought that al thinges consysted in opynion. . . . [A 8^r] And thus in conclusion I saye, that seinge the gilty conscience doth only make a man vnhappie, he is to euil aduised that yeldeth his mynde to misfortune when wholly hee might remaine in lybertie. A man is nothinge but his mynde: if the mynde be discontented, the man is al disquiet though al the reste be well, and if the minde be contented [A 8v] thoughe all the rest misdoe it forseeth little.

The combination, in one passage in Cardan (I 4^v), of the theme of fortitude with the doctrine that there are no troubles except those of the mind, leads us to a thought of some importance in the interpretation of *Hamlet*:

First that without a conscience gilty of euil, no man is miserable. Secondly, that the valiency of minde doth greatlye helpe, not onlye to contentacion, but also to procure the mutacion of fortune. Lastlye that the reading of this booke was profitable both to perswade vnhappye men wyth pacient minde to suffer aduersity, & those that be happye in their owne opynion, to be modest and continent. Besydes that (as is already said) though men do want this or such like bookes to read, yet shall they in theyr myserye be deprived of all comfort? surely no. For so should we take vpon vs a thing almost devine. Because this onelye is necessarye to save thee from mysery, that thou perswade thy selfe thou art not myserable. Which rule in one worde may be taughte and learned of every man. And whosoever shal not conceive this reason which is avaylable to perswade the wise, then let them read this or some such booke as necessary.

In the light of Cardan's thinking, which is characteristic of the Renaissance and is freely reflected in Hamlet, one might well ask whether modern critics have not overstressed the individual psychology of Hamlet and given to his self-reproaches too intimate and personal a bearing. Hamlet's situation as a grief-stricken hero caught in the toils of innumerable difficulties and dangers is typical, and is the one presented by Cardan, who says that all men are in like case and that the remedy lies in the curing of the mind so that it will rise above the trials of life. Cardan, in effect, reproaches man for allowing himself to become "lapsed in time and passion" so that he habitually lets go "the important acting" of a dread command, for suffering his mind to be tainted with worldly considerations, and for cowardice. These are Hamlet's reproaches against himself; Hamlet's plight is as intense as Cardan felt his own to be, and one may believe that, like Cardan's, it is to be interpreted as exemplifying the common fate of all men. Laden with bereavement and with the most humiliating trouble, Hamlet proceeds along a road which Cardan tells us all men must travel. Hamlet is not weak as an individual; he is merely the representative of weak humanity. He rebukes himself, not for his own faults, but for those of humankind. The men of the Renaissance had a sort of modesty, now largely lost to the world, derived from their consciousness of the frailty of the clay of which they were made. Hamlet struggles through, and at last achieves a philosophic serenity, so that, like Cardan, he defies augury of death and sees that "readiness is all." The background of his struggle is thus human calamity, which he conquers by overcoming his human cowardice and his human fears. He emerges with the calm-minded heroes of antiquity. What is happiness, asks

the much-suffering Cardan, but a state of mind?

This possibly throws a truer light — one would not claim too much — on many passages in *Hamlet* which have seemed to modern critics unheroical acknowledgments of cowardice. To appreciate the truth one must ask, even in this age, Who are the absolutely brave? Who are those that can call themselves completely happy and completely strong? The idea that Hamlet was struggling through great adversity to attain fortitude puts his famous praise of Horatio (III, ii, 59–79) in exactly the right perspective. Horatio becomes Cardan's, Plato's, Seneca's, Cicero's, and Plutarch's philosopher. On this ground one may believe that Hamlet meant, not to confess his own weakness when he so delineated Horatio, but to express the ideal of his own character and the goal of his own striving:

Ham. Horatio, thou art e'en as just a man
As e'er my conversation coped withal.

Hor. O, my dear lord, —

Ham. Nay, do not think I flatter;
For what advancement may I hope from thee
That no revenue hast but thy good spirits,
To feed and clothe thee? Why should the poor be flatter'd?

Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice And could of men distinguish, her election Hath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing, A man that fortune's buffets and rewards Hath ta'en with equal thanks: and blest are those Whose blood and judgement are so well commingled, That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger To sound what stop she please. Give me that man That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart, As I do thee.

There are many other resemblances, great and small, between *Hamlet* and Cardan's *Comforte*, some of which must be mentioned for the sake of completeness. The King's reproof of Hamlet for his "obstinate condolement" (I, ii, 87–106) is the veriest commonplace, which may be found in Cardan and in many other writers on consolation. For example, Cardan writes:

[B 4v] But yf thou can beare that lacke whiche nature could not help, why shouldst thou not also be content with the other whych is no lesse vniuersal? . . . For when a man shal truly consyder hys myshaps to procede of natures necessytye, and not iniuriouslye, then wyl he yelde himselfe to suffer al, vnlesse that altogether he bee voyde of iudgement, symple and foolyshe. . . . [B 51] What man hath beene so impacient in fatherlye affection, as doth take care for the death of his son, thirty yeares synce departed? or his goodes lost so long agoe? Such is the condicion of tyme, as fyrst it deminisheth som part of extreame sorow or ioye, next it weareth awaye al feruency of affection, and lastly doth clerely rote it out of memorye. Therfore sith the couetise of time doth in the moste symple worke this effecte, whye shouldst not thou do the same to thy self? and loke what benefyte time in short space should geue the, the same may thou throughe fortitude, learninge, modesty, and good example geue vnto thy selfe. . . . [F 4^v] So Deathe naturall beinge come to oure Parentes oughte pacientlye to bee borne, and thincke them to have passed the whoole course of Miserye, and vs to remayne and abyde the Troublesome assaulte of Earthely cares: . . . [H 2^r] inwardly to torment himselfe with sadnesse is the parte neyther of a wyse nor valiaunte man: but of one that searcheth rather the reprehencion of others, then knoweth what is seemely. Howe muche better were it for hym often to remember Vmbre somnum Homo?

A theme found in both *Hamlet* and Cardan is the familiar one of the transitoriness of glory, of equality in death — the theme of time the leveler. In the play it appears in the graveyard scene, and sporadically elsewhere (as in Hamlet's mad conversation with the King in the third scene of the fourth act). Alexander and Caesar as types of mortality are favorites with Cardan no less than with Hamlet:

[B 6^r] And if no glorie bee, within fiftie yeares after deathe what difference shalbee betwixte a kinge and a Carle. . . . But least perhappes thou lyue in doubte that time doth styll abyde, and the course of heavens be

staide, or that the lyfe of man dothe not of necessitie and speedelye decaie, beholde that one stone where in was graued three Faces, a Childes, a Mans and an Olde mans. . . . [D 6v] why refuse we to yelde to that equality, wherin a common parson is like a kynge, a monster lyke a most semely man, a tyrant like the symple & most harmlesse soule. . . . [E 8r] What doth it preuayle the to lye in marble, aboue the ground, or in the bowelles of the earthe? doest thou take care for want of a workeman. There is no cause of feare at all. The Heauen doth hide hys bones, that can no coffyn fynde, . . . [L IV] And therefore I saye that nature lyke vnto fyer issuinge out of the ground, hath aduaunced al thinges some more and some lesse, and some most of all, and being at the hyest, vanisheth and decayeth awaye: so the race and dignitye of man, being growen to the greatest honoure & glorye, a whyle stayinge there, doth declyne, and at length is clearely quenched. For where is now anye braunche of Alexander, of Darius, Antiochus, Ptolomeus, Dauid, Caesar, Antigonus, Maethridates: or anye other of these auncient kinges? who so attayneth to that highe estate of glorye, let hym not forget himselfe, but say: Lo now the ende of humaine glory is at hand.

There are also other themes in common which tend to draw *Hamlet* and Cardan's *Comforte* together. When Hamlet says to Ophelia (III, i, 122–23), "Why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?" the reader of Cardan recalls that he devotes whole pages, intensified with his private griefs and feelings, to the disappointments and wickedness of children, the vileness of procreation, and the vanity of entertaining any hope of posterity (G 3^v):

Now what hope can be in posteritye, when onely charge and feare commeth thereby? . . . what can bee more wicked then this oure age?

He tells of women who have wished the death of their sinful children, children who do not take their manners and conditions from their parents but from their evil associates:

[G 8] Surelye it seemeth a great madnes to torment thy mind continually with this nedeles care of posteritie, for besydes that, this desyre is neither reasonable nor necessary, some man may justly meruaile, why it is so common, but the answere there vnto is not douted of. If fyrst thou doest show me the cause why so many men became couetous, ireful, and subjecte to desyres of lust. . . . [H I^r] For manye times the son of a good father, is seene to proue an euil man.

Likewise, when Hamlet says to Ophelia (III, i, 140–41), somewhat inconsequentially, "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny," he utters a thought frequently reiterated by Cardan:

[M 4^r] It is also to be consydered, that the occasions of Sclaunders are so common, as nothynge more. . . . [M 7^v] Enuye also like vnto a shadow inseperable doth follow glory, which in a moment fadeth awaye, and the rest of thy life the more vnpleasant. . . . [N 5^r] Uertue is alwayes accompanied with *Nemesis*, who sufferethe none to beg, sauing men from common calamities.

Cardan's long and careful argument (C 2^v ff.) that brute beasts lack the power to reason lends force to Hamlet's outcry (I, ii, 150-51):

O God! a beast, that wants discourse of reason, Would have mourn'd longer.

Indeed, at one point (IV, iv, 33-40) we have, in the pursuit of this subject of the unreasoning beast, a rather striking parallel between *Hamlet* and Cardan, though the statement in the former is much the more condensed. Hamlet exclaims:

What is man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more.
Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To fust in us unused. Now, whether it be
Bestial oblivion, . . .

Cardan has a panegyric on human reason, which contains these words:

[C 4^v] Howe muche more necessarye is it, that mans vnderstandinge, which knoweth all the Artes of all lyuing thinges, and more and more excellente, besydes also the disciplines and principles, God & all the furniture of Heauen and the Elementes, besides these to bee immortall and vncorruptible?... [K 8^r] I say that whatsoeuer is by any creature required either for commodity or necessity, the same creatures do naturally desyre them. In which desyres brute beastes directed onelye by naturall sence, do not transgresse the lawe of necessitye: But man havinge libertye of sence &

¹ Cf. also Hamlet, II, ii, 310-24.

reason to perswade with himselfe, doth eate, drinke, & sleepe, more then eyther commoditye or necessity doth requyre. So as though eating, drinking & sleeping, be things natural, yet superfluously taken, do work effects contrary to nature.

Finally, one may ask whether, among the many remaining similarities, there are possibly suggestions of Hamlet's "count myself a king of infinite space" (II, ii, 260–62) in Cardan's (I 3^r) "Who is hee that possesseth a thousande Crownes, that maye iustlye be called poore? and dwellinge in the countrye wyth that wealthe, wyll not accompte himselfe a Prince?"; or the play's intimation that death is easy to achieve (I, ii, 72–74) in Cardan's (D 1^r) "Such thinges as we take for hurtful be also rare & not lightlye founde, but ther is nothing more common nor more quickly had then death"; or of the vagueness of Hamlet's "something after death" (III, ii, 78) in Cardan's (D 4^v) "such as so beleue [that the soul perishes with the body] are in greatest security for not beinge subject, to judgement and free from all suspicion of mynde either of punishment or reward, which thing doth most torment men that are ready to take leaue of lyfe. . . . For as it is not altogether certaine what dothe presentlye folowe death: . . ."

The correspondences between Hamlet and Cardan's Comforte, the Clarendon Press editors notwithstanding, are really close, and, moreover, many of them are marked by circumstances of particularity, which might be called arguments from sign, indicating that the Shakespearean passages in question did actually come by suggestion or borrowing from Cardan's Comforte rather than from any of the numerous other writings from which they might, so far as their content is concerned, have been derived. In any case, it has not been our sole purpose to fortify the probability that Cardan's De consolatione is one of Shakespeare's sources for Hamlet. That attempt, if successful, would result only in the elucidation of a few passages from Shakespeare's play. We have also been interested in a larger question. We have tried to extend the scope of Cardan's book until it stands for a kind of philosophic writing which might be called the literature of consolation. We have tried to show that that variety of literature enters deeply into Hamlet.1 This attempt may have enabled us to see more extensive

For a suggestive treatment of this subject, see Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 16 ff.; see also pp. 133-34, 139, 189.

manifestations and more profound influences. Specifically, it may have thrown light on Hamlet's character as the author conceived of it, by identifying Hamlet's pessimism with that of Jerome Cardan, thus making of *Hamlet* a slightly less personal tragedy and a more broadly human tragedy as the great Shakespeare in the great Renaissance thought of such a work. *Hamlet* becomes, from this point of view, the story of a hero struggling against the totality of man's earthly tribulations, and in so doing revives the major question of antiquity. It is no reflection on Shakespeare to believe, as many will readily believe, that he read and was influenced by Cardan's *Comforte*. Cardan was a very great man, and his book, though long neglected and little known, is a

very great book.

There are probably echoes of Cardan in other Shakespearean plays, but even in Hamlet one need not conclude that any of the parallels except those in the select list, and a few others, indicate an immediate influence. A glance over various studies of Shakespeare and Montaigne will reveal the fact that a number, but by no means all, of the parallels between Cardan and Shakespeare here cited are claimed as Shakespearean borrowings from Montaigne. Any controversy as to whether the source of a particular passage is Cardan or Montaigne (in such essays as "That the Savour of Goods and Ills depends in large part on the Idea that we have of them" and "That to think as a Philosopher is to learn to die") 2 is particularly hard to adjudicate, since both authors rest so immediately on Cicero and other ancient writers. Both were steeped in the philosophy of the Stoics and both drew from the same fund of classical literature. Like Cardan, Montaigne has the idea that, even if virtue makes us able to endure poverty and other miseries of life, there is still death to torment us. Therefore our chief study must be to cease to be afraid of death. But Montaigne is not so

¹ G. C. Taylor, Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne (Cambridge, Mass., 1925); Elizabeth R. Hooker, "The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne," PMLA, XVII, 312-66; Susanne Türck, Shakespeare und Montaigne (Berlin, 1930); Jacob Feis, Shakespeare and Montaigne (London, 1884); J. M. Robertson, Montaigne and Shakespeare, and Other Essays on Cognate Questions (London, 1909); J. Churton Collins, "Shakespeare and Montaigne," in Studies in Shakespeare; Pierre Villey, "Montaigne and Shakespeare," in A Book of Homage to Shakespeare, ed. Israel Gollancz (Oxford, 1916); and "Montaigne et les poètes dramatiques anglais du temps de Shakespeare," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, XXIV, 357-93.

² Bk. I, Chaps. xiv and xx, of Ives's translation (Cambridge, Mass., 1925).

much concerned as Cardan with the grief that comes to us from the death of others; he is chiefly interested in preparing a man to meet his own death, and even in this respect Cardan is the more personal and passionate. The same thing may be said of Cardan's pessimism as compared to Montaigne's. It is not our purpose to deny the influence of Montaigne, but only to point out that Cardan and Montaigne occupy, in part, different territories and that *Hamlet* in some places agrees closely, both in matter and spirit, with Cardan.



John Hepwith's Spenserian Satire upon Buckingham: With Some Jacobean Analogues

By HOYT H. HUDSON

ROM evidence in a few books and many manuscripts we learn that George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, was the butt, especially during the last three or four years of his life, of a great number of epigrams, libelous songs, and verse-satires. A selection from this material was published for the Percy Society in 1850. For the most part these satirical attacks, and the commendations of Buckingham's assassin which are found in the same manuscripts, were such that they could not have been printed at the time of their writing; 2 indeed, the Percy Society's editor found it necessary to

* Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; and his Assassination by John Felton, ed. Frederick W. Fairholt. The poem which is the subject of the present article was not drawn upon by Fairholt. The only previous notice of Hepwith's poem seems to be in Brydges' Restituta, IV (1816), 346-48, where its reference to Buckingham is mentioned and the first fifty-four lines are reprinted.

The author wishes here to acknowledge the aid of Mr. Godfrey Davies, a member of the Research Staff at the Funtington Library, who materially assisted in interpreting the his-

torical allegory of The Calidonian Forrest.

[Since writing the article and the foregoing note, I have learned that an unpublished dissertation in the Harvard University Library, "The Beast in English Satire from Spenser to John Gay," by Robert Brice Harris, devotes some attention to *The Calidonian Forrest*. I have not seen this, but have read only Mr. Harris's summary in *Summaries of Theses*...1932

(Cambridge, 1933), pp. 254-57.]

² One attack on Buckingham which was printed contemporaneously is the prose pamphlet, The Forerunner of Revenge (1626), by George Eglisham, charging Buckingham with having poisoned the Marquis of Familton and King James. This was printed at Frankfort. It is not, however, a satire. Fut it should be noted that in 1628 there appeared two English translations, from the French of Pierre Matthieu, entitled The Powerfull Favorite, Or, The life of Elius Seianus (Short Title Catalogue, Nos. 17664, 17665). These are not, as the Short Title Catalogue states, "entirely different" versions, but the second is a shortened redaction of the first and could have been made from it without reference to the French. Matthieu's original, Elius Sejanus, it should be noted, had been published in 1618 as an attack upon

omit certain lines and stanzas when printing in 1850. It is the purpose of the present article to call attention to what was perhaps the most elaborate and extended of all the satires against Buckingham, one which remains in several manuscript copies but which also was printed -not, to be sure, while its subject was alive, but in 1641, thirteen years after his death. This satire, The Calidonian Forrest by John Hepwith,1 uses the method of the beast-allegory; hence it proceeds without mentioning the name of Buckingham or that of any of his English contemporaries. Aside from the interest growing out of its subject, the poem exemplifies an effective use of the satirical method employed by Edmund Spenser in Mother Hubberds Tale, from which Hepwith took some hints, and later by Dryden in The Hind and the Panther. It is written with considerable literary skill and deserves a place in the satirical tradition as a connecting link between the two poets just named, in that it borrows something from the first and may possibly have given some suggestions to the second.

We should notice in passing that, although offered to the public, The Calidonian Forrest nowhere calls attention to its real subject. The volume has no prefatory material of any kind, the verso of the title-page being blank and the poem beginning with the second leaf. The usual salvo of commendatory epigrams by partial friends is missing. Furthermore, John Hepwith himself seems to have been sufficiently obscure: he is unknown, not only to the Dictionary of National Biography (and the Cambridge History of English Literature) but also to the school and university lists of the time. Perhaps "Iohn Hepwith, Gent." is a pseudonym.² But whoever the author was, the fact is

Quarto, fourteen leaves, A-C4, D2; twenty-eight numbered pages (26, 27, 28 misnumbered 27, 28, 26).

For the purposes of this article the copy in the Huntington Library has been used. There is also a copy in the British Museum.

² On the other hand, Fairholt prints (op. cit., pp. 51-52) a poem entitled "Prosopopeia. On the D." from an Ashmolean manuscript, where it is subscribed with the name "Jo.

the Duc d'Ancre, Marshal of France. This fact, taken with the English title, *The Powerfull Favorite*, and with the further fact that in the impeachment proceedings of 1626 Sir John Eliot had, in his attack upon Buckingham, alluded at some length to the career of Sejanus, makes it unquestionable that both of the English versions were anti-Buckingham pamphlets.

¹ THE | CALIDONIAN | FORREST. | By Iohn Hepwith, Gent. | [Figure of Mercury upon a globe] | LONDON, | Printed by E. G. for R. Best, and are to be sold at his | shop neere Grayes Inne gate in Holbourne. | 1 6 4 1.

apparent that he had written *The Calidonian Forrest* at about the time of Buckingham's death '- probably he began it while its subject was alive — and though afraid or unwilling to print it then, he or some owner of a manuscript copy published it in 1641 as a contribution to the widespread propaganda directed toward discrediting the personal rule of King Charles.

It is noteworthy that at the time we infer Hepwith to have written, several similar or related satires (upon other subjects) were fresh from the presses. Mother Hubberds Tale had just been reprinted for inclusion in the folio collection of Spenser's poetry which the booksellers were keeping in print.² Drayton's The Owle had formed a part of his important collection, Poems, of 1619 and 1620; while The Moone-Calf by the same author, which, though not a beast-allegory, is definitely reminiscent of Mother Hubberds Tale, had appeared with The Battaile of Agincourt in 1627. Finally, Richard Niccols's The Beggers Ape, closer to Spenser's Tale than any of the others, had been published (anonymously) in 1627, after lying in manuscript since before 1610. These works will be discussed with more fulness later in this article.

As to the situation in 1641, when *The Calidonian Forrest* was finally printed, it will suffice to remind the reader of the numerous satires directed against the King, the Queen, and the bishops. John Bond's *King Charles his Welcome Home* and *Englands Ioy and Sorrow*,³ both of 1641, with others of the kind, brought Bond to the pillory in April

Heape." It is not at all unusual for the first syllable of an author's name to stand for the whole in such subscriptions; and this short poem, which Fairholt calls "one of the bitterest rhymes of the series," may be another composition of John Hepwith's.

[&]quot;MS. copies of this poem are at Kimbolton, Port Eliot, and Helmingham Hall. In the copy at the last-named library it is said to have been transcribed in 1628, so that it was evidently written long before it was printed." (Catalogue of the Famous Library . . . Collected by Henry Huth [1913], III, 1033.)

² After showing that this edition must have been published between 1620 and 1629, Mr. F. R. Johnson says (A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser [Baltimore, 1933], p. 42): "... the most likely date for this edition of Mother Hubberds Tale is 1627 or 1628." Mr. Johnson also informs the writer that copies of the 1612 printing of Mother Hubberds Tale were in circulation separate from the folio volume into which they usually are bound

³ The title-page bears no author's name, but "Io. Bo." appears at a break in the verse at p. 5.

of 1642, and to the writing of *The Poets Recantation*, in which he speaks of the "inumerable multitude of Pamphlets, which have been surreptitiously inserted above this twelve months and a halfe to the ignominious scandall of the State." The anonymous *Lambeth Faire* (1641) attacked the bishops. The state of affairs is perhaps best depicted on the title-page of the loyal Martin Parker's *The Poets Blind Mans Bough*, which runs on: "or Haue among you my blind Harpers: being A pretty medicine to cure the Dimme . . . eyesight and Iudgement of Those Dogmaticall, Schismaticall, Aenigmaticall, and nou Gramaticall Authors who Lycentiously . . . have raylingly, falsely, and foolishly written a numerous rable of pesteferous Pamphelets in the present (and the precedent[)] yeare, justly observed and charitably censured, by Martine Parker. . . 1641." ¹

The plan of the present article is to give a synopsis of *The Calidonian Forrest*, with a key to the allegory, so far as this can be clearly interpreted; ² and then to show its Spenserian qualities and other literary affiliations, particularly its relation to the Spenserian beast-

allegories written by Richard Niccols.

I. Synopsis

The scene is "the Calidonian wood" [England], which stands encircled by the sea. Here the Lion [James I] was for long King. While at sport in the forest he met a handsome Hart [George Villiers], which

It is to be noted also that James Howell's ΔΕΝΔΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ, ... Or, The Vocall Forrest, had appeared in 1640; in this allegorical representation of history, the career of Buckingham is presented in a most favorable light. Hepwith's poem may have been issued to counteract or to refute Howell's account. Sir Henry Wotton's A Parellel betweene Robert late Earle of Essex, and George late Duke of Buckingham first appeared in 1641, and the more definitely panegyrical A Short View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, by the same author, in the following year. One cannot say whether these bore a relation to the appearance of The Calidonian Forrest; but they doubtless were issued with a view to strengthening royalist sentiment, as was Wotton's A Panegyric of King Charles (ca. 1644).

² A few of the more questionable matters are discussed in footnotes. The present writer is convinced that the following two principles should be kept in mind by one attempting to unfold this or others of the old allegorical satires: (1) the satirist might purposely introduce into his account of a fictional character circumstances which do not correspond exactly with the facts about its historical prototype; (2) a fictional character may represent a historical character in parts or a part of its actions, while in other parts it represents an abstraction or

generalization, or another historical person.

so attracted him that he asked it to come and live at court. The Hart apologized for its lowly birth but offered unstinting service; it went to court and became the favorite, using its power first of all to get favors for its kindred, "The Roe, the Fallow Deere, the Hinde."

For what he crav'd was his, he had the art Of pleasing, and had wonne the Soveraignes heart, Who in a jesting manner oft would throw His Royall Crowne upon his branched brow, Or with some goodly Gemme his eare adorn And with some favour oft would grace his horne.

The Hart was careful of its appearance and occasionally would go to the adders' den and eat an adder, in order to preserve its youth.² After committing various affairs to the Hart, the Lion made it "Ruler of the great greene Lake" [Buckingham made Lord Admiral, 1619]. The Lionel [Prince Charles] took the Hart for his companion when he went to the Hesperian forest [Spain] to court the Eagle's [Philip IV's] niece.³

So was he blest by hap, that he came back, Without a Mistris, and without a wrack.

Buckingham's services for his relatives are notorious, and form the subject of Article XI

of his impeachment. See S. R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents (1906), p. 18.

The reference here may be, respectively, to Lady Villiers Compton, John Villiers, and Christopher Villiers. After George Villiers had been knighted (April 24, 1615), made Master of the Horse (January 4, 1616), and named to the Order of the Garter (April 24, 1616), Lady Villiers Compton, his mother, was the King's guest at Hatfield (June, 1616) and henceforth held an influential position at court. Later in the same year, John Villiers, George's elder brother, was knighted; and three years afterwards he was made Baron Villiers of Stoke and Viscount Purbeck. In 1617 Christopher Villiers, younger brother, as we learn from a letter of John Chamberlain's (printed in J. Nichols's *Progresses* . . . of King James, III [1828], 244), was made either a Groom or a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. The same letter preserves a rhyme then current:

Above in the skies shall Gemini rise And twins the Courts shall pester; George shall back his brother Jack, And Jack his brother Kester.

² The strange passage here summarized may refer to Buckingham's consultations with and patronage of "Dr." John Lambe, an astrologer and criminal charlatan who died as the result of being beaten by a London mob, a few months before Buckingham's assassination.

3 The Infanta Maria, who was the object of the contemplated Spanish match, was the

sister of Philip IV, not his niece.

Within two years the Lion died and the Lionel [hereafter called the Lion] became King. He decided to wage war upon the Eagle, who was allied with the Dragon [Emperor Ferdinand II], who lived "in Satans Denne neere the high way to hell," and "could infect the Aire, with his rank breath." The Dragon had usurped some of the power which really belonged to the Lion and the Eagle. Hence Jove decided to curb the Dragon's pride, and sent Mercury to tell the Eagle that the Dragon's power was wrongly gained, that "the Scepter of the Forrest" really belonged to the Eagle, except for those places where the Lion ruled.2 Mercury called upon the Eagle to renounce allegiance to the Dragon. The Eagle, however, responded that the Dragon was of such transcendent wisdom and valor that it deserved allegiance.3 Mercury then went to the Caledonian wood and delivered Jove's message to the Lion and his court. Here the response was a declaration of war against the Dragon. Mercury promised divine aid, and gave to the Lion an herb that would frustrate all enchantments.4

Digression: Quarrel of the Gods

When Mercury went back to "Ioves ayrie place" with the news of his mission, Jove spoke wrathfully against the Eagle and the Dragon,

¹ Some touches in the description of the Dragon suggest that the Pope, or the Catholic church, is intended. He had, for instance, a band of "damned Ministers" called Cockatrices, who went everywhere in disguise and caused trouble. These would seem to represent the Jesuits. Perhaps if we think of the Dragon as the combined power of the Empire and the Church we shall come nearest to Hepwith's meaning.

² One guiding principle of James's diplomacy had been to effect such a composition with Spain as would lead to the recovery, from the Emperor, of the Palatinate for James's son-in-

law, Frederick V.

- ³ See quotations in Gardiner (*History of England . . . 1603–1642*, V, 105–6) from a conversation between the Count of Olivares, Philip IV's chief minister, and Prince Charles of England, in which Olivares said: "We have a maxim of state, that the King of Spain must never fight against the Emperor. We cannot employ our powers against the House of Austria."
- ⁴ Although in our narrative the young Lion, Charles, is on the throne, the history shadowed forth goes back to the closing year or years of James's reign. And though the campaign finally launched was against Spain, James had been more concerned with opposing the Emperor and regaining the Palatinate. Cf. Gardiner (*History*, V, 193): "Whilst the Commons wished to do as much as possible against Spain, and as little as possible in Germany, James wanted to do as much as possible for the Palatinate, and as little as possible against Spain."

and seized one of his thunderbolts to hurl against them; but Juno, remembering her own past wrongs, snatched up the Eagle and the Dragon in a great wind and set them among the stars. Jove was so angry that he threatened to banish all goddesses from heaven. Minerva arose and reminded him of her services in earlier wars; she bade him, defiantly, to banish the goddesses to earth, where they would become nymphs with Silvanus as their Jove. The goddesses made ready to go, but Jove plucked Juno by the sleeve; Vulcan caught at Minerva, but she knocked him dizzy with the "but-end" of her lance. Jove sought to pacify the goddesses, Vulcan brought nectar, Apollo played music, and after a feast all slept in peace.

Continuation of the Story of the Hart

Now are the Lions ships met altogether, And under sayle to goe, the Lord knowes whether.

[Troops and ships gather at Plymouth, August-October, 1625.] The Lion was loth to put the Hart's life in danger; hence the fleet was commanded by the Mule [Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon]. With him went the Horse [Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex],

.... for brave atchievements bred, Whom false Hiennas foule adulterous bed Had nigh well slain of yore,^t

the Bull, the Bear, the Mastiff, and "the greedy Hound." 2

The Hyena is Frances Howard, the former Lady Essex, who in 1613 had succeeded in having her marriage nullified in order to be free to marry the Earl of Somerset. Later, she and Somerset had been convicted for their part in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. As to the earlier poisoning of Essex, here glanced at, compare Arthur Wilson, The History of Great Britain (1653), p. 56, concerning the early married life of the Earl and Lady Essex: . . a most violent Disease of a poysonous Nature, imputed to, but far transcending the small Pox, seized on the Earl of Essex; and had not the strength of Youth and that Almighty Power that orders all things, wrought out the venom of it, the Earth (as probably wished by her) had been his Marriage Bed."

² A list of the commanders may be seen in Charles Dalton's *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil* (1885), II, 139-40. Of one of them, William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, Gardiner says (op. cit., VI, 11) that his "only known qualification for the post [of Rear

Admiral] lay in the accident that he was married to Buckingham's sister."

But so was not the Boare who had chang'd knocks Not long before with the Iberian Fox, And dy'd soone after, and with him deceas'd As many feare the fortune of the beast [i.e., the Hart].^x

The great expedition went forth but accomplished nothing. Blame for its failure was laid upon the Mule, who leaped into the sea but was

saved by Thetis and changed into a bird — to wit, a gull.2

After this reverse, the inhabitants of Caledon became alarmed and sent the Elephant to Apollo's shrine at Delphi to learn what should be done. The oracle was, as usual, vague. Upon the Elephant's return, there was a council of all the beasts [Parliament of 1626]. Besides the Lion, the Hart, the Bear, and the Bull, there were present the Wolf, the Buffle, and the Elk. The "noble Unicorn" was not present, but lay imprisoned in the "white Rock" [the Tower] because he had married his son to the young Leopardess, without consulting the Lion; 3 whereas the Hart had intended to bring about the marriage of his cousin, the Buck, with the Leopardess.

The Elephant made a speech 4 in which he cited the dangers threatening the Lion's realm: the fierce Iberian Griffin [the Empire?] was

¹ The Boar seems to represent Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford, who, after being twice imprisoned for expressions of dissatisfaction with the King and Buckingham, particularly with their yielding to Spanish influence, died at The Hague in the early summer of 1625, while colonel of a volunteer regiment in the service of the Elector Palatine. The Veres displayed a boar in their crest.

² There is no historical fact to correspond with the Mule's leaping into the sea; this circumstance seems to have been introduced only for the sake of saying that Cecil, in the

public's eyes, looked foolish.

³ For the Unicorn, we may read the name of Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, whose son, Henry, Lord Maltravers, was clandestinely married in 1626 to Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox. The King had intended Elizabeth for Lord Lorne, son of the Earl of Argyle (cf. Gardiner, op. cit., VI, 71); and while at first disposed to be lenient, his suspicions and displeasure were so aggravated by the Queen's interference in favor of Arundel that he committed him to the Towers.

This explanation does not wholly accord with the satirist's reference to the Hart's plans

for the marriage of the Leopardess.

4 Sir Dudley Digges opened, on behalf of the House of Commons, the presentation of charges against Buckingham in the House of Lords on May 8, 1626. This speech was posthumously published, by order of the Long Parliament, in 1643. It may also be seen in William Sanderson's Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles (1658), pp. 40-45.

After considering the possibility that the Elephant stands for Sir Dudley, the writer has come to the conclusion that it rather represents either the entire House of Commons or

watching his chance to devour the Lion's subjects, the Eagle preyed upon "our ouermatcht Allyes," who called in vain for help; near by, the Crocodile [France?], "Masking his rancour with a feined smile," urged war. The flood encircles us and forms a wall, said the Elephant; but this wall has been won by our enemies." At home,

Our Forrest is become a Denne of Apes. The greedy Ostridge, and the obscene Owle Do Tymber in our woods and Satyrs foule Frequent our thickets.²

We do not question the King's right to favor whom he will or to appoint whom he will as minister; yet the laws of God bind kings to rule with equity, and if they neglect their charge they must give an account to God.

But as all force is divelish and prophane By vassals 'gainst their Princes undertane, So wholesome counsell is a soveraigne way To work with them, in some respects though they Be Gods, yet like men do they understand, So die they shall, though they like Gods command.³

the eight managers from the Commons who presented the charges in the House of Lords (see Gardiner, *History*, VI, 99). The consultation of the oracle by the Elephant would then stand for the deliberations which led to the impeachment proceedings.

¹ In his speech of May 8 Sir Dudley Digges referred to the "complaints from all the Seabordering parts of the Kingdom," reporting that, "to our shame and hinderance of Commerce, our enemies did (as it were) besiege our Ports, and block up our best Rivers mouths." See Sanderson, op. cit., p. 41.

² This passage may be read as generalized satire upon the court and society: the ape was commonly used as a symbol of flattery; the ostrich may represent avarice; the owl and the satyrs suggest slander and sexual immorality.

³ A short satire quoted by Fairholt (op. cit., pp. 4-5) ends with language somewhat similar to this of Hepwith's:

A Buck's a beast; a King is but a man, A Game's a pleasure shorter then a span; A beast shall perish; but a man shall dye, As pleasures fade. This bee thy destinie.

Hepwith's lines, with their concession that "in some respects" kings "be Gods," and perhaps the language of the anonymous satire also, echo a passage in King James's speech to both Houses at Whitehall in 1609, thus paraphrased by Arthur Wilson (op. cit., p. 46): "And when he [i.e., God] had raised the Kings power to the height, with Vos dii estis, he brings them down again, with, They shall die like men: . . ." James was quoting Psalms 82: 6-7, "I have said, Ye are gods; . . . But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes."

After the council broke up, the populace began to multiply murmurs against the Hart. Light Fame wrote a thousand "scrols" of libel and accusation, took them in her beak, and flew over the forest, scattering them as a seedsman scatters kernels in a field. The Hart, alarmed, went to the house of Politeia to ask for advice. When he knocked at the gate he was admitted, but only after some parley with the porter, Secrecy. He was led by the groom, Discretion, into a great hall where Politeia sat with her attendants.

Digression: Ambition's Victory over Politeia

The train of Politeia was not what it seemed to be. Ambition, a goddess who had led the vain attack of the Giants against the gods, looking about for easier prey, had fixed upon Politeia; though she resolved to conquer her by fraud rather than by force. She had selected her own principal attendant, Desire, had dressed her and a hundred maids of honor in white, had given them olive branches, and sent them to the palace of Politeia. Sending Delectation as a herald, Desire had gained a safe-conduct for herself and her train, but only against the advice of Astraea and Religion, the two principal companions of Politeia. When Ambition's embassy, Desire and her followers, entered the palace, Astraea and Religion quitted it and fled to heaven, taking with them Temperance, Faith, Pity, and Fortitude. The attendant Hope went into the wide world as a foe to Despair. Desire [1641 reads "despaire," but Desire is evidently meant] gained the Tower of Consent and the keys of Politeia's palace, went into the hall, and forced Politeia to swear allegiance to Ambition. Superstition, Falsehood, Avarice, Murder, and Treachery succeeded Astraea and Religion as companions of Politeia, though all of these foul attendants were disguised as virtues.

Continuation of the Hart's Story

The Hart's attention was first taken by the statues and pictures in the hall, which showed the plots of kings and statesmen. The oldest

Tone which we may feel sure Hepwith had in mind was George Eglisham's The Fore-runner of Revenge already mentioned. According to Henry Wotton (A Short View [1642], p. 22), John Felton alleged that this pamphlet, which Wotton calls "a certain libellous book written by one Eggleston a Scottish Physitian," was one of the two causes of his killing the Duke; the other was the impeachment proceedings by the House of Commons.

statues, "High in the roofe, which dust well nigh defac'd," were of Numa, Solon, and Lycurgus; then more recent men and events were shown, including Machiavelli, Barnavelt, Don Spinola, and Gondomar. Going before the throne, the Hart knelt and asked for aid. Politeia answered that the Hart should become "Commander of the Silver flood" called Cantaber [the Cam, Cambridge University]. The Hart returned to the forest and sent a message to Cantaber, a stream which flowed from sixteen springs [colleges] and

Where under Peasant might not approach neare. But on his grassie bancks with Lawrell Crown'd, The Nymphs and Fayries sat in circle round, Composing wreathes of never dying Bayse, To deck those heads, whose knowledge merits praise.

Sixteen sirens [heads of colleges], under the rule of Panace [Vice-Chancellor John Gostlin], a learned lady, were rulers of the sixteen springs. Dinamene held second place,

Yet were her Oseants stain'd with lustfull flame, From *Tyneas* she had an evil name, She often wont to leave the Christall floods, And seeke her lovely stripling in the woods.^x

The other fourteen sirens were: Glytephone, Philacreete, Armold, Pilitrope, Eusibia, Panope, Encrate, Themisty, "just and wise" Polime, "Patient Cymodoce, That could assawge, The surging Seas, when they began to rage," "kind Elimuce," Antonene, "faithful Memphee," "and old Zione." All of these were daughters of Jove

¹ This passage, which suggests some scandal at Cambridge, is quoted largely for its curious interest. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Chancellor of the University from 1614 on, had died on May 28, 1626; hence I have suggested that Panace, the ruler at the time of the Hart's election, is to be identified as the Vice-Chancellor, John Gostlin, Master of Gonville and Cains. Who Dinamene, second to Panace, may be, is hard to determine. The word "Oseants" does not appear in the New English Dictionary.

² These, with Dinamene, are to be matched with the following list of Heads: Matthew Wren, Peterhouse; Thomas Paske, Clare Hall; Jerome Beale, Pembroke College; Barnabas Gooch or Henry Smith (mastership changed during 1626), Magdalene College; Clement Corbett, Trinity Hall; Samuel Walsall, Corpus Christi College; Samuel Collins, King's College; John Mansell, Queen's College; Richard Sibbs, Catharine Hall; Roger Andrewes, Jesus College; Thomas Baynbrigge, Christ's College; Owen Gwynne, St. John's College; Leonard

by Academie, who, in turn, was the offspring of Chronos and Minerva. Academie had a sister [Oxford University] of the same parentage, on

the banks of the Thames.

The Hart's messenger laid before these sirens the request of his master, with a speech enforcing his claims. Panace cited two arguments against granting the request, but said that the King's wish and the fact that the Hart's power was declining overcame these two arguments; therefore she counseled making the Hart their ruler. Some debate ensued, but the request was granted [Buckingham elected Chancellor, June 1, 1626, by a vote of 108 to 103].

But though the Hart obtained this great place, The silly beasts still hated his good Grace.

There follows an account of the Camel, "Who likewise was growne mighty by great sin." The Camel met in the woods a wanton lady; and lying with her, he obtained a great store of money and a large estate. The lady's name was Thesenia. After consorting with her, the Camel, though he was not trained in the schools and had small wit, was found "worthy to weare a goodly gowne of blew" [became a judge] and was placed in a seat of honor

. . . in that great Hall [Westminster], from whence, Astrea fled away three ages since.

Nere was it knowne before, that Justice did

Depend on Hymen, or waite on a Bride.¹

Mawe, Trinity College; John Preston, Emmanuel College; Samuel Ward, Sidney-Sussex College. Gardiner says (op. cit., VI, 115-16) that "the Masters of Trinity, of Peterhouse, and of Clare Hall used all their influence" for Buckingham's election. Wren and Mawe had

attended Charles and Buckingham during their visit to Spain in 1623.

For he [the Camel] was not to Lordly Manners borne, But fortune honoured him with plenties horne.

After Bacon's fall, in 1621, Williams was made Lord Keeper, and sat as judge in the Court of Chancery.

Though there are some slight incongruities, the Camel seems to represent Bishop John Williams. Thesenia, the wanton lady by whom the Camel came to great fortune, may be favor or sycophancy, since Williams's rise was due to the unusually generous favor, successively, of Ellesmere, King James, and Buckingham. Williams was responsible for bringing about Buckingham's marriage, in May, 1620, to Lady Catharine Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland (hence "Justice did Depend on Hymen"). There may be a direct allusion to the name Manners in this couplet:

With the Camel the Hart made "Bonds of Alliance, to make a stronger side." It also called "the reverend Asse" from the Cimmerian land and made him its servant.

Finally Jove had pity upon the beasts and took the Hart from the forest [Buckingham assassinated, August 23, 1628], intending to make it a star "for Venus sake, whose priest he was"; but Atlas objected and Jove turned the Hart into an *ignis fatuus* that deludes shepherds and peasants. Fame reports also, perhaps mistakenly, that Jove carried the Hart into the skies and made it a star near Orion [1641, "Orgon the fierce Forrester"], who continually frightens it "with his staring lookes and glittering brand." The satire concludes:

Certes his stars portend (as wise men guesse) Much ill to those which Art and Armes professe, And great impoverishment to Mariners, Whom it arising from the Sea deters.

II. Spenserian Qualities

The Spenserian qualities of this poem will be apparent from a comparison of its satiric method, its episodes, and its diction with those

employed by Spenser.

Turning to Mother Hubberds Tale, we recall that the Ape and the Fox, after several adventures in impostorship, come upon the Lion sleeping. He has laid aside his crown, scepter, and skin. The Fox induces the Ape to steal these, agreeing to let him wear them and be king, so long as he will retain the Fox as his chief counselor. The other animals are deceived by the masquerade, and for a time the Fox and Ape hold undisputed sway. Their injustices, however, turn some of the animals against them and finally come to the notice of Jove. He, looking upon the mismanaged kingdom,

..... sdeignfully it scorn'd
In his great heart, and hardly did refraine,
But that with thunder bolts he had him [the Ape] slain,
And driven down to hell, his dewest meed.

Jove chose rather to put him to shame. He called Mercury and asked him to fly to the Lion's kingdom and find why he did not rule his em-

pire properly. Mercury hastened down and listened to the complaints of the Ape's subjects. Then he assumed invisibility and went about to see for himself the evidences of misrule. He sought out the Lion, still sleeping in a trance, and roused him. The Lion, roaring mightily, hastened toward the palace. The Ape sought to hide, but the Fox went to meet the Lion, fawned upon him, and affected penitence. The Lion finally allowed him to flee away. He cut off the Ape's long tail and half the length of his ears.

Aside from the kinship in allegorical method, the closest structural or fictional resemblance between *The Calidonian Forrest* and *Mother Hubberds Tale* lies, it is apparent, in the similar episodes of Jove's intervention. Both poems represent Jove as about to hurl a thunderbolt and then refraining, and their accounts of Mercury's summons and his swift passage to earth are also similar; and in both it is the second stage of Mercury's journey that brings him to the Lion, whom he arouses to attack the injustice that has caused Jove to interfere.

With this, the large resemblances between these two poems end. There may also be traced, however, some points of likeness between the castle or palace of Politeia in *The Calidonian Forrest* and the House of Temperance in *The Faerie Queen* (II, ix, 18–60). The following summaries emphasize the likenesses:

The House of Temperance, in Spenser's poem, inhabited by Alma and her attendants, was girt by a wall (so high that no foe could climb it), curious in shape, since it was partly circular and partly triangular, with a quadrate base. The wall had only two gates, with a porch of fine stone, and a portcullis. A porter sat within the barbican:

Vtterers of secrets he from thence debard, Bablers of folly, and blazers of crime.

Alma brought her guests through a porch, past the porter and the sixteen warders, and into a stately hall where tables were spread. After the guests had viewed this, they were led to a parlor hung with an arras full of pictures. Here was a group of damsels, Alma's attendants. Then they followed Alma up to a tower,

. . . . lifted high aboue this earthly masse, Which it survew'd, as hils doen lower ground. There were three rooms, or stages, in the tower; the first was the room of foresight, the second that of counsel upon the present, and the third that of history or memory. Each was appropriately decorated; the walls of the second, for example,

Were painted faire with memorable gestes, Of famous Wisards, and with picturals Of Magistrates, of courts, of tribunals, Of commen wealthes, of states, of pollicy.

In *The Calidonian Forrest*, the castle of Politeia is represented as situated in a gloomy vale, hewn from marble rock and standing alone. On the top of it was a tower that seemed to kiss the clouds; and on this tower was seated one called Providence,

Wherewith she sees what's done in every place Beneath the Cope, with this she doth espie The drifts of Kings, and hidden plots descrie.

Around the castle was "a huge wall" with but one small gate in it; and this gate was kept by an old porter named Secrecy. Before the Hart was admitted, the porter asked carefully about its errand. In the hall where Politeia sat with her attendants there were statues and pictures of law-givers and rulers of the past, and also some representing plots by famous politicians.

Turning to an examination of Hepwith's diction, we find obvious and abundant proof that he was consciously imitating Spenser. He did not, of course, study only Mother Hubberds Tale as a model for his language, but he shows familiarity with various works of the poet, particularly with The Faerie Queen. Whilom, the very first word of his poem, is also the first word of the tale proper in Spenser's satire. Hepwith employs the Spenserian word erst if five times; and hight, in the sense of "was called" or "named," five times also. Both eclipt and clept appear in Hepwith's poem, as do certes and I ween. The rather unusual mythical-geographic words, Lerna, Phlegræan, and Cim-

Spenser uses it ninety-five times, Shakespeare six times.

² Once (p. 20) misprinted "high." Spenser uses hight one hundred and sixty times, Shakespeare four times.

merian, used by Spenser, find places in *The Calidonian Forrest*. For more extended similarities of language, a few parallels may serve as specimens:

C. F., p. 3: Both gracefull complement, and courtly art $M. H. \mathcal{T}$., 692: Through his fine feats and Courtly complement

C. F., p. 3: And like a Prince both kinde and Debonaire F. Q., I, ii, 23, 5: Was neuer Prince so meeke and debonaire

C. F., p. 18: And with her wings the buxome aire did clip F. Q., III, xi, 34, 2: And with wide wings to beat the buxome ayre

The following description of the Dragon will be recognized as thoroughly Spenserian:

[C. F., p. 6] This monstrous Dragons nature was so strange,
So noysome, that he needed not to range
About the world to passe the Alpes, or Seas,
To plague his wretched foes, for he at ease,
And lurking in his filthy hole and nest,
Could quite destroy, or Fish or Fowle, or beast,
He could infect the Aire, with his ranck breath,
And on each object glance, nought else but death;
Pure Christall streames he turned to poyson black.

It may be said, in taking leave of this subject, that even when Hepwith's language is not wholly or strictly Spenserian, he may write lines that sound like Spenser. For example (p. 3):

When bloody broyles and rigid stirres were ceast.

Spenser used *stir* as a noun very seldom, and he never used the word *rigid*. Again (p. 7):

In valour, who may be his Parallel?

The word parallel does not appear in Spenser. And finally (p. 16):

And to his Rills in vaine for succor cries. For burnt fac'd ruine hath Carrous'd them up.

The words rill and carouse do not occur in Spenser.

¹ Cf. F. Q., VI, vi, 10, 9; M. H. T., 7–8; F. Q., VI, i, 8, 7; II, x, 7, 4; IV, viii, 26, 3; I, i, 20, 2.

III. Relation to Other Literature

Because The Calidonian Forrest appears to represent an important use of the beast-allegory in English satire, it will be well here to survey other works of this kind, from the time of the publication of Spenser's Tale in 1591 to that of Hepwith's writing in 1628. Thus we may see what Hepwith may have learned or borrowed from writers other than Spenser; we may observe upon a larger scale the difficulties of identifying the objects of such satire; and we may find comparisons which will throw into stronger relief the special characteristics of The Calidonian Forrest.

Drayton's The Owle

The earliest satire to claim our attention is *The Owle* by Michael Drayton. Published in several issues in 1604, it was written, according to its author, a year earlier, having been finished, or nearly so, at the time when Drayton turned from it "to write his Majesties [James's] descent in a Poeme gratulatorie." A synopsis follows:

The poet was walking abroad in the spring and thinking upon the transitoriness of mortal things. As noon came on, he sat under a tree and fell into a trance wherein he could understand the speech of birds.² While other birds were vocal, each expressing its proper character, the Owl solemnly slept. The other birds came about him and told him to wake and join the sylvan conference. The Owl awoke and addressed them, defending his choice of residence in the ivy growing over a stump and his noctivagant habits. But the crueller among the birds united to attack him. The Falcon came to his rescue and the gentler birds lamented the unwarranted assault, saying that justice had fled the earth.

The Eagle, king of birds, coming secretly from his court, found the Owl badly injured and asked the reason. The Owl answered, telling of his own

² Likenesses between the satires discussed and Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* have not been specially pointed out in this article.

I have omitted consideration of Father Hubburds Tales: or the Ant and the Nightingale (1604), usually ascribed to Thomas Middleton, because, although echoing Spenser in its title, it is not an animal-satire and is mainly in prose. The part nearest to the poems we are investigating is the introduction, in verse, presenting the circumstances under which the Ant came to relate the incidents that make up the book proper. These incidents are closer to Nash's picaresque tale than to the satirical fable of Spenser.

illustrious family, and charged the birds of prey with the attack. But he was afraid to speak plainly until the Eagle gave him liberty to do so. Then the Owl told of visiting the Eagle's palace and finding there the lecherous Sparrow, the greedy Cormorant compassing monopolies, the Gold-Finch and the Bunting buying a bishopric and selling a benefice to the Lark. There the Buzzard strutted in plumes borrowed or stolen from the Falcon. One bird scoured the teeth of the Serpent, who daily ate up widows and orphans. The Goshawk was patron of the land and commander of the commonwealth; but he had gained his place dishonestly and used it to enrich himself. The Turtle-Dove had been banished the court because she would not be unchaste. The Parrot, a tattler and informer, brought news to the Vulture; and the two of them, employing the Bat, tried to entrap others into making treasonous speeches. The Owl killed the Bat, but the Parrot still flourished and threatened the life of the charitable Pelican. The Alcatras, which terrified birds on land and killed the flying fish at sea, was a constant threat. The Owl appealed to the Eagle for protection against it, and gave warning that the kingdom was in danger.

Then the Owl told of a Jay that talked all languages and pretended to a great knowledge of affairs. The Jay deceived the Wood-Cock, lived by flattery, and debased the profession of poetry. Also the Owl had heard the Sparrow telling the Wren how her lover, the Robin, taking advantage of his offices in attiring the Eagle for flight, would hide in the Eagle's plumes, hear state secrets, and then come and tell them to the Sparrow. The Owl met a Crane who complained of his lot, for after having fought many battles he was now cast from favor. The cruel Castrell ruined the country Rook, by

racking rent and by inclosures.

The Owl went to the city. He found there cheats and injustices. He tells at some length of a lawsuit in which the Cuckoo charged the Titmouse and Wagtail with slander. The Peacock's speech for the plaintiff is given in full, as well as the Turkey-Cock's reply for the defendants. The case

went against the Cuckoo.

At this point the Eagle disappeared from the author's dream, and left the Owl to govern. The Owl warned the other birds of dangers, especially in the Oak where they were wont to roost. They did not heed his words; and that evening the husbandman spread the Oak with birdlime and the birds were caught. The Owl came and set them free. Their songs of gratitude reached the Eagle, sitting aloft on his mountain-throne. He came to the forest, and the Owl explained the cause of the birds' cries. (In this account the Owl says that the Oak had grown arrogant and that of its sap was bred a slime which entrapped the birds.)

The Eagle told the birds that they had forgotten order, humility, and propriety. Henceforth they should seek safe nesting-places, suitable to their stations; the strong should protect the weak. The Owl replied, joyfully acknowledging the wisdom of the Eagle; but he pointed out that the Thrush, because it could sing well, had unfairly gained preferment, whereas the Falcon, whose courage could be the kingdom's defense, had been despised. The late Cock combined both "Elegance and Act" and his death had robbed the world of delight. The Owl stopped speaking, with a sigh of grief for the Cock; the Eagle cheered the Owl and led the way to the great Mountain where all wrongs could be set right. The author awoke.

No commentator has unfolded the allegory of *The Owle*. Several writers have taken the Crane to represent Drayton himself, lamenting his failure to find favor at the hands of the new King. It is also generally assumed that the Eagle represents King James. Thomas Corser went a little further: ¹

[Drayton] seems to have shadowed forth under the owl the cause of learning attacked by all the smaller birds, or a multitude of lesser and inferior writers, but protected by the royal eagle, most probably here intended for the newly arrived monarch King James. But the whole of the allegory, which is somewhat obscure and confused, appears to be very far fetched, and much of it is difficult to be understood at the present day. It is generally supposed to be an imitation of Spenser's *Prosopopoia*, or *Mother Hubberds Tale*.

With reference to the last sentence quoted, we should observe that Harold H. Child, writing in the Cambridge History of English Literature (IV, 184), mentions only Chaucer's Parlement of Foules as a possible model. As to the allegory, Child gets no farther than that "The

owl . . . is the keen-eyed, disinterested observer."

It is not at all unlikely that the Owl, as Corser has it, represents learning or letters. But it must be noted that the particular fate of the Owl is the concern of a very small part of the poem. A much larger part deals with "the city, the court, and the country," the three being fairly well distinguished and dealt with in the order of court, country, and city. There is a fair chance that the satire in many parts is wholly general. For example, in describing as a kestrel the landlord who

^{*} Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, Pt. VI (Chetham Society, 1877), 270-71.

drives his rural tenant to a debtor's prison, Drayton probably had in mind, as a prototype, no individual identifiable by a reader in 1604 or at any later time. On the other hand, under the names and accounts of other birds, such identifiable individuals must have been shadowed, even though hidden from any but the most discerning contemporary reader. The Falcon, for example, who protected the Owl, who was a brave warrior and might be the kingdom's defense, but who was without honor at court, seems to be a portrait from life. The Cock, whose death is lamented in the ending of the poem, might well be Sir Philip Sidney or the Earl of Essex, though probably the first rather than the second.

Goddard's The Owles Araygnement

We must suppose that Drayton's poem suggested "A Morrall Satire, Intituled the Owles araygnement," which was appended (folios F 2^r-F 4^r) to William Goddard's A Satyricall Dialogue, supposed to have been printed at Dort in or about 1616. Because of its close affiliation with The Owle, this poem may be considered here, out of its chronological order.

In this comparatively short apologue, the Owl is accused before "the Prince of fowles" by the Bat, the Thrush, and some others, of killing small birds and of frightening everyone by shrieking in the night. The Eagle told the Owl to speak for himself, and with freedom. The Owl said that he had nothing to fear from justice. The second charge he answered first, saying that as he flew about and saw the Jackdaw taking the Eagle's place, the Parrot graced at court above better birds, while the valiant Cock was banished to the country, the harbors of "our sea-girt-in Ile" forsaken by the sea-birds, the Cuckoo occupying another's nest in the city — when he saw such abuses he could not refrain from bursting out with "lo ho ho" and "wo ho ho."

As to being a murderer, he denied the charge, allowing that he killed exactly as did the King's own Hawks, whose actions presumably were acceptable to the King. If the Owl is to be punished, then so are the Hawks.

¹ The Huntington Library has one copy of the Dialogue without the satire, i.e., ending with F 1, and one copy with the satire, ending with F 4. But a close examination makes it almost certain that these do not represent, as was stated to be the case in the *Short Title Catalogue*, two issues; but only that the first copy is imperfect. It is possible that the satire was suppressed by the authorities.

The Eagle turned to the Hawks and asked if it was true that they had killed the innocent. The guilty nobles were at first silent, and then shamelessly replied that they had patterned themselves upon the King's example, and that if the King was to have the subjects' respect he must not only make but also keep the law. The Eagle began to fight with the Hawks, and the Owl escaped to lurk in the woods by day and to fly about by night, crying "wo ho ho."

In the first part of Goddard's satire, one finds the same generalized attack upon the city and the court as in parts of Drayton's Owle, which it follows in some details. But in the latter part, the allegory points with some plainness to the murder of Thomas Overbury by the agents of Viscount Rochester, later Earl of Somerset, and Lady Frances Essex. Overbury succumbed to poison on September 15, 1613, and Somerset and Lady Essex were married in December of the same year. The charge of murder was not laid, however, until 1615, and the trials took place in 1616. We have direct evidence that Goddard was exercised about the actions of the guilty pair, for he printed three epigrams referring to them (Nos. 19, 76, and 77) in The Neaste of Waspes (Dort, 1615).

It is noteworthy that Mother Hubberds Tale is now generally read as combining, like The Owles Araygnement, a first part which is general in nature with a second part which is specific; and we are safe in saying that such a structure is one of the devices by which a satirist may

"cover his tracks."

Woodhouse's The Flea

We may dispose rather briefly of *The Flea* (1605) by Peter Woodhouse, as being rhetorical and humorous, rather than satirical, in its main interest. The full title of this poem, as appears from its heading, is "Democritus his Dreame, or, The Contention betweene the Elephant and the Flea." A summary follows:

The author dreamed that Democritus and Heraclitus met. Heraclitus told why he always wept, but Democritus answered that for much the same reasons he always laughed; and he says that even Heraclitus would laugh

Reprinted, with an Introduction, by A. B. Grosart, as *Democritus his Dreame* (Occasional Issues, 1877).

to hear his dream. He saw, in his dream, the leader of a herd of elephants who proclaimed that since all of the other beasts owned his superiority, he expected to be king of the forest. His mother told him not to be too boastful. A Flea, resting under the ear of a shepherd's dog, heard the Elephant's speech and answered that many beasts would dispute his supremacy. The Flea himself disputed it and held himself to be a nobler beast.

Here there is a digression, occasioned by Democritus' saying that when the Elephant looked about for the Flea, the Dog slunk back in alarm. Heraclitus asked why the Dog should be frightened, since only the Flea had offended. Democritus answered, among other things, that the Dog had been a courtier and knew that, in order to please, one must be in no way associated with an object of displeasure. Heraclitus wept at the susceptibility of

the world to flattery.

The Dog licked the feet of the Elephant and said that he was not to blame for the Flea's presence. The Flea showed himself and challenged the Elephant to a trial of valor and honor. The Elephant suggested that others should sit in judgment upon the dispute, and named the Bull as his own "days-man." The Flea suggested the Mouse, and the Elephant, frightened, raised objection. The Flea then named the Weasel. When the Weasel and the Bull were ready to hear the argument, the Elephant began, speaking of his strength, his great place in history, his prowess in battle, his temperance, his long life, his religion, his intelligence, and his gift, after death, of ivory. The Flea in a sophistical speech refuted the Elephant's claims: for example, the Oak is strong, but not therefore valiant; the Elephant fought in wars without knowing whether he was fighting for a good cause. Furthermore, the Flea advanced his own good qualities, his boldness and freedom, his acquaintance with the best society, his courtier-like graces:

..... I am a Courtier fram'd. My face and legges, will suit a Prince his hall, For th'one I knowe is smooth, the other small.

The Flea can foretell the weather. The Elephant's teeth are good when he

is dead; the Flea's are good while he is alive.

Heraclitus did not laugh at the Flèa's speech, but wept at the hypocrisy and sophistry of it. Democritus then repeated a short reply made by the Elephant and a similar one made by the Flea. Heraclitus was eager to hear the "censure" of the judges, but Democritus said that he awoke before the verdict was passed. Since Heraclitus still did not laugh, Democritus charged him with inhumanity, but Heraclitus replied that it was the strength of his human feelings that kept him from laughing. He then observed that,

since in dreams we merely combine ideas or sensations of our waking life, there must be some meaning in this dream. But Democritus answered that he had rather it should be called an idle dream than that the curious should try to interpret it. He next passed on to a philosophical account of sleep and dreams, and explained that by the Elephant, or the Flea, or the Dog, he meant some kind of fault, not some faulty man. Heraclitus replied that he was aware of all this, and ended with an acclamation of man's misery and sorrow.

The reader of *The Flea* is impressed with the excellence of its verse, its cleverness, its apt dialogue and characterizations, and the general familiarity with literature revealed in it. The poem can stand by these characteristics, apart from any possible historical interpretation of the allegory. Grosart was convinced that real persons were shadowed forth:

It seems clear that if we could read between the lines it should be revealed that there is intended satire of high-placed personages under the "Elephant" and the "Flea" and other creatures introduced. It were wasted pains at this late and dim day to conjecture who might or might not be meant. I suppose we shall all have our varying shrewd suspicions.

The present writer is inclined to disagree. Besides calling attention to the interest this poem sustains quite without reference to any real people, he would point out that by its central episode it belongs with

For a suggestion from Spenser, aside from the very general one provided by his *Virgils Gnat*, compare the eighth sonnet of *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, published in *Complaints* (1591):

Soone after this I saw an Elephant,
Adorn'd with bells and bosses gorgeouslie,
That on his backe did beare (as batteilant)
A gilden towre, which shone exceedinglie;
That he himselfe through foolish vanitie,
Both for his rich attire, and goodly forme,
Was puffed vp with passing surquedrie,
And shortly gan all other beasts to scorne,
Till that a little Ant, a silly worme,
Into his nosthrils creeping, so him pained,
That casting downe his towres, he did deforme
Both borrowed pride, and natiue beautie stained.
Let therefore nought that great is, therein glorie,
Sith so small thing his happines may varie.

² Op. cit., Introd., p. v.

the many paradoxical arguments composed by rhetoricians, such as Laus Asini, Laus Podagrae, Laus Pediculi, and Encomium Luti—a traditional kind of writing that embraces, at its highest, Erasmus's Encomion Moriae, a work which is referred to in commendatory stanzas preceding The Flea. In other words, Peter Woodhouse's concern with "high-placed personages" may be regarded as very slight in comparison with his eagerness to exercise his powers as rhetorician, poet, and scholar.

Niccols's The Cuckow

We are closer at once to Spenser and to Hepwith when we turn to the two animal-satires which Richard Niccols composed in the period 1604–1609. The first, entitled *The Cuckow*, was printed in 1607 with the author's name on the title-page. The language and style of this poem are reminiscent and imitative of Spenser, though of *The Faerie Queen* more often than of *Mother Hubberds Tale*. Indeed, since Niccols's subject was chastity, it was natural that he should give, as he evidently did, days and nights to the study of Book III of *The Faerie Queen*, wherein Spenser treats especially of that subject. A synopsis follows:

The Cuckow begins with an astronomical and mythical account of spring. Among the welcomers of spring were Dan Cuckow and Lady Philomel, whom Phoebe had named Casta and made chief of the birds in her train. A contest arose as to which of these two should be named as the official harbinger of spring and thus the principal attendant of Lady Ver. A debat ensued, in which the Cuckoo claimed that he served the Queen of Love and therefore was best fitted to welcome spring. Casta replied that his associates were unchaste, and that Phoebe and her nymphs had made her their leader. The Cuckoo answered that he was willing to leave the decision to

¹ The choice of the first date is based upon the assumption, universally made by commentators, that Drayton's *The Owle* was a model for Niccols's *The Cuckow*. The second date is based upon the fact that in *A Winter Nights Vision* of 1610 Niccols refers to *The Beggers Ape* as written "whilome," but not published.

² Thomas Corser (Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, Pt. IX [1879], 69-74) lists parallels between Niccols and Spenser. While it is true that the description of the Bower of Bliss in F. Q., II, xii, provided Niccols with much of his inspiration, a close study of The Cuckow will show, I believe, that Book III was in his mind throughout.

Phoebe and her nymphs. Casta was content, since she supposed that Phoebe's nymphs would detest the unchaste ditties of the Cuckoo. The two birds went to the Bower of Bliss in a wood in the North, where lived many nymphs of high birth. In the outer porch of this bower sat "many a slickhear'd Squier" cunning in ways of love. The chief of these, lover of the great lady who dwelt in the bower, was named Vanity. This squire greeted the Cuckoo and Casta and led them before the lady of the bower. Here dwelt eternal spring; fruit grew without the labor of cultivation. The gate of ivory was covered with painted stories. Vanity told the two birds that they should prepare to hold their contest the next day. The Nightingale practiced her tunes; the Cuckoo cultivated the friendship of Vanity.

The next morning all of the birds of the wood gathered to hear the contest. The lady of the bower, whose name was Meehafasto (which expresses her double nature), richly but somewhat loosely dressed, came with her attendant nymphs to sit under a canopy facing a meadow. Her nymphs, though beautiful, were foul of heart. They were dressed in fashions of various countries, some of them wearing masculine or other fantastic garb.

When Casta saw them, her hopes fell.

The crier of the court called first for Casta. She stood forth and pleaded her cause, citing her ancient wrongs and the favor of Phoebe. She sings chaste songs, she argued, to counteract the lust-provoking note of the Cuckoo. She appealed to the love they must bear to Phoebe. Then she sang her beautiful songs. The Cuckoo, though daunted by the sweetness of Casta's songs, stood forth boldly and began to flatter the nymphs. He went on to say that Jove's bird, the Eagle, had fostered him in his youth in Egypt. He had visited Cyprus and had won the favor of the Queen of Love, who taught him, in Adonis' garden, his song and appointed him to sing in the springtime. The Nightingale's songs, he asserted, though sweet are not suited to the spring. He then sang his song, which excited laughter.

Meehafasto arose and pronounced judgment. Casta, she decreed, should sing her sad songs only in the fall; Dan Cuckoo should be the harbinger of Flora and Lady Ver. Then the ladies left, with the Cuckoo, while Casta mourned, thinking again of her old wrongs. Her sister Progne, the Robin, the Wren, and the Titmouse ministered to her. The Wren told her that she need not be cast down at the judgment of the nymphs, who had forsaken hunting, Phoebe's sport, and all other good ways. At the persuasion of the other four, Casta went with them to their dwelling in the deserted

¹ Casta seems not to have known, as did the Cuckoo, that Phoebe had left the forest. The author, however, is not entirely clear about the matter.

woods. There she lived in comfort throughout the summer and autumn,

but winter brought discomfort.

At this point in the story the author digresses to tell of the war of Hiems, with his knights Boreas and Eurus, against Autumnus and Pomona, with their defenders Auster and Zephirus. Autumnus took Pomona away and hid her within wooden walls; then he flew with his two champions to the West, there to renew his powers against the time when the three again

might attack Hiems.

Meanwhile, Casta mourned in the cold forest. The Robin said that in the winter she was accustomed to go to the city of Trynobantum (whither Progne had already gone), and she invited Casta to accompany her. Perhaps, she says, the beautiful nymphs of Trynobantum will reverse the judgment passed by the nymphs of the Bower of Bliss. They go, and meet Progne, who tells them of the dangers of the city, warns them that things are not what they seem, and implies that they had better return to the forest. Progne also relates how she had been chased away from the Bower of Bliss because she had seen too much of the loose habits of its residents. The Robin answers that they had hoped that here in Trynobantum the nymphs might be more favorable to Casta and might drive the Cuckoo away. Progne replies that the nymphs of the city are wanton and loose; that the Queen of Love now makes her residence there. Progne continues in a satirical explanation of the morals of the city. Unable to proceed without offending modesty, she is urged by Casta to speak plainly. So urged, Progne continues the account in a passage which suggests Juvenal's sixth satire or the eighth in John Marston's The Scourge of Villanie (1599).

Casta bewailed her lot, not being welcome in any place, whereas her rival the Cuckoo was triumphantly singing everywhere. The Swallow, Robin, Wren, and Titmouse attacked the Cuckoo and chased him to a covert place. Then the Wren said that there was a virtuous nymph, dwelling apart, "The happie daughter of a countrie swaine," named Virgina, who would receive Casta as the chorister of spring and whom Dan Cuckow dared not approach. Progne, by a decree of the fates, had to remain in the city; the others, after Casta had bidden Progne a sad farewell, went to live with Virgina.

This allegory also awaits an interpreter. Corser, after giving an ample summary and many quotations, says: "The reader will find an excellent analysis of the allegory of the poem of *The Cuckow* in an article in the second volume of *Restituta*, p. 1, by Mr. Park." But the fact is that in the place cited Park does nothing but summarize the poem, with the comment that it is "loosely allegorical."

It seems to the present writer that The Cuckow is a generalized satire against wantonness and unchastity, particularly against the increase and openness of these in the early years of King James's reign, as they appeared to one who recalled (or imagined) the comparative strictness of Elizabeth's time. "Phoebe" is of course Elizabeth; "Trynobantum" is Spenser's "Troynovant" (London). Assuming that the Eagle (mentioned but once) is King James, Niccols is bold when he represents the Cuckoo as saying that he had been fostered in Egypt (Scotland) by the royal Eagle. When we turn to the Bower of Bliss, presided over by Meehafasto, the ways are slippery. My suggestion is that the Bower of Bliss is the court, and Meehafasto is simply the combination of gentility and ostentation which is the presiding genius of it. Such an interpretation allows for a certain order in the poem, in that it makes it a satire upon the morals of the court and the city; showing first how the court has become corrupted, in contrast with its former austerity, and second how the city is likewise immoral, generally and openly. If we wish to assume that Niccols also meant to say something about the country, we might interpret the retreat where Casta and her friends spent the summer and autumn as the country. This is depicted as friendly to morality, but intolerably uncomfortable, at least in winter. Finally, it may be suggested that when the poet represents the birds as planning to live with Virgina, where chastity will be honored, he may well have had in mind Virginia in the New World, as a place where, amid simple surroundings, chastity might dwell in safety and esteem. We may recall that Captain John Smith and a hundred and five colonists had sailed for Virginia in December of 1606; and that Sir Francis Bacon, in a speech in the House of Commons, February 7, 1607, recommended Virginia as an outlet for the surplus population of London and the rest of England.2

² So in the Huntington (Huth) copy of *The Cuckow*; Corser, using the Althorp copy, reads "Mechafasto." The name is imitated from Spenser's "Malecasta" (F. Q., III, i, 57 ff.). As to its formation, the only notions that occur to me are these: (Sp.) mego, meek or gentle, fasto, haughtiness or pomp; (It.) mecca, varnish, gilding, fasto, pride, ostentation, vainglory; and perhaps there is a suggestion from the "Mephastophilis" or "Mephasto" of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus.

² Gardiner, op. cit., I, 333.

Niccols's The Beggers Ape

Niccols had published *The Cuckow* with his name on the title-page, with a dedication and an address to the reader, and presumably at a time immediately after he had written it. In 1610 he published *A Winter Nights Vision*, the Induction of which begins thus:

My muse, that mongst meane birds whilome, did waue her flaggie wing, And cuckow-like of Castae's wrongs, in rustick tunes did sing,

Yea she, that whilome begger-like her beggers ape did sing, Which iniur'd by the guilt of time to light she durst not bring.

The second couplet quoted informs us that The Beggers Ape was written before or by 1610 and that it is a satire of such a specific nature that it could not be published at the time of its composition. It finally appeared in 1627, without the author's name and without a dedication or other prefatory material. In all of this, except in the circumstance of having an author's name on the title-page, The Calidonian Forrest is an exact counterpart. We are led, then, to expect to find in The Beggers Ape the representation of specific persons and events. In outline the story runs:

The author walked abroad, in the heat of August, and entered a grove. There he spied a group of beggars telling stories. One of them told this story of an ape. Some years ago, he began, the Virgin ruled the forest; there was prosperity and peace, even with "that skie climing bird," the Eagle. Then the Lion was made King, and many beasts that had been ob-

scure found grace.

There was a beast of "Secrops brood" (i.e., serpents) who had once been a man but had been changed by Jove into an ape and banished to Ape's Isle. His tail had been cut off because of deceits he had practiced among the beasts. Now he came to the Lion's sourt, met the Goat, and tried to enter his service. He saw the Fox, an old acquaintance, in high place in court, and humbly approached him. The Fox thought it would be well to enlist the Ape's guile in his own service; he greeted his old friend and the two formed an alliance. Their attention was turned to the Goat, a lecherous courtier, and the Ass, who had come to court with his father's estate on his back and in his purse. They finally succeeded in their purpose of winning wealth by selling knighthoods to the Ass and the Goat. After the first ex-

perience of the kind, they went on and offered to other beasts knighthoods and similar honors in exchange for fees. The noble Elephant, a worthy counselor of the Lion, who kept the Treasury, suspected the Ape and at-

tempted to stop his knavery.

The next incident is of the Ape's inducing, by flattery, the Ass to challenge the Horse to a race. By signally losing the race the Ass was disgraced, and returned to his country home humbled and poor. The Ape made it possible for the Wolf to prey upon small beasts of the forest, though when the Wolf attempted to entice the Urchin away and eat him, the Squirrel by a warning prevented him. But as a result of the Wolf's alliance with the

Ape, the Urchin and the Squirrel were banished from the court.

The Elephant was finally able to cut off the Ape's revenues from the royal treasury. The Fox likewise lost his income and the two decided that they would go to the country and try to entice the Ox and Sheep to utter seditious sentiments, then charge them with treason, and receive their forfeited estates. The Ox and Sheep uttered the usual criticisms of life at court and of evil courtiers. Particularly, the Ox cited the fact that the noble Horse who had often battled against the Eagle and the Dragon was now without comfort. Likewise, many soldiers were reduced to beggary. For these speeches the Fox and Ape brought the charge of treason and a court was called. The defense of the Ox was sufficient to clear him of the charge; and the Elephant made a speech against the Ape. The Elephant then asked the Fox if he wished to swear to something against the Ox and Sheep. The Fox asked the book to be brought; but as he was about to take his false oath Jove launched from Olympus a thunderbolt which frightened him from his purpose and singed his fur. The Ape was whipped about the forest.

It is unnecessary to detail the Spenserian touches in The Beggers Ape. With less of the diction of Spenser (at least of The Faerie Queen) than The Cuckow, it suggests, more strongly than any other poem here considered, an immediate connection with Mother Hubberds Tale; for its principal characters, the Fox and the Ape, are borrowed from that poem and remain much as Spenser created them. In effect, The Beggers Ape is a sequel to Spenser's satire. But it seems to have carried over also the difficulties of interpretation which beset its model.

^{*} One view having strong support is that Spenser (in the second part of Mother Hubberds Tale) dealt with the projected French marriage, 1578-80; that the Fox represents Burghley and the Ape the French ambassador, Simier, "or possibly Simier plus Alencon."

Since the Fox of Spenser is generally taken to represent Burghley, it would be convenient if we might assume that the Fox in *The Beggers Ape* represents Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Burghley's son and successor in office. The fact is, however, that whereas we know something of Spenser's associates and patrons and misadventures, we have no such information with reference to Niccols; and hence we do not

know where his sympathies and antipathies lay.

It is clear that *The Beggers Ape* is directed principally against the sale of titles, used as a means of raising revenues for the royal treasury. As to the persons represented by such characters as the first purchasers of knighthoods, the Ass and the Goat, we can hit upon no suggestion of any weight. The Elephant, who attempted to expose and prevent the jobbery of the Ape and the Fox, has been identified by J. P. Collier as Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, who was Lord Treasurer at the beginning of James's reign and until he died suddenly in 1608.

As a bald suggestion of possibility, the name of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, might be raised as an identification of the Ape. The poet's making him "of Secrops brood" might have reference to the facts that the Howards were a Catholic family, that Northampton's elder brother had been executed for his dealings with Mary, Queen of Scots (not to mention that his father had been beheaded for treason under Henry VIII), and that he had himself been under deep suspicion of heresy and disloyalty. As to the former acquaintance of the Ape and the Fox, it is a fact that Robert Cecil (who in this view may still be taken as the Fox) had helped Henry Howard escape, in 1584,

This view was put forward by Edwin Greenlaw, PMLA, XXV (1910), 546-49, and again in Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 116-19.

It is barely possible that *The Beggers Ape* would support this interpretation of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and that, writing as he did at the height of the anti-Scottish sentiment, Niccols intended to represent King James under the figure of the Ape. This idea, however, has been put aside for further study.

¹ Bibliographical Account, III, 45.

In the interpretation advanced by Harold Stein, Studies in Spenser's Complaints (1934), pp. 92–100, this second part refers to the problem of the succession, as it appeared about 1590; then the Fox is still Burghley (though with some of his actions suggesting Robert Cecil, his son), but the Lion is England rather than the person of the sovereign, while the Ape is James VI of Scotland. The poem is a prophecy of what might happen if Burghley were given his way and the succession fixed upon James.

from suffering for his connection with the plots concerning Mary. For his safety, Howard spent many years in retirement or in traveling in Italy—a fact which would correspond to the Ape's having been banished to "Ape's-isle." It was through Robert Cecil's good offices that he was readmitted to the court in 1600. The two of them joined in corresponding with James in the period 1600–1603; both shared in new honors upon the accession of James. Both were commissioners for the trials of Ralegh and Cobham, and both sat with the Spanish envoys to draw up the Spanish treaty of 1604.

The Calidonian Forrest in Comparison with the Other Animal-Satires

Enough has been said to show that *The Calidonian Forrest* is the most open and specific in reference of all the animal-satires in the period we are considering. That it could have been published thirteen years after the events with which it deals was made possible only by the rising tide of disaffection in England. Furthermore, our review of these satires leads us to the conclusion that Hepwith was familiar with at least the two by Niccols, which are nearest to Spenser, and that he levied upon the second rather specifically. He took from *The Beggers Ape* the figure of the Elephant as the wise counselor, the symbol of the Eagle for Spain, and the name of the Horse for a valiant noble.

We have seen also that certain conventions belonging to this type of writing, such as the council of the beasts, a debat or match of some kind, a trial, and inserted complaints, are to be found in several of these satires. Thus the council of the beasts appears in The Owle and The Calidonian Forrest; debats occur in The Cuckow and The Flea; matches of skill, in The Cuckow and The Beggers Ape; trials, in The Owle, The Owles Araygnement, The Cuckow, and The Beggers Ape. There are complaints in The Owle and The Cuckow. It is apparent that The Calidonian Forrest really owes very little to these conventions; and the reason must be that its author was concerned with adhering closely to the history he shadowed forth. His two digressions — that describ-

It is interesting to find that Henry Wotton, when speaking of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (A Short View, p. 15), uses the following language: "the Kings only Sisters Doway [dowry] had been ravished by the German Eagle, mixed with Spanish Feathers."

ing the quarrel of the gods and that describing the palace of Politeia — may be said to have grown out of following Spenser and Niccols rather than out of the conventions of the beast-allegory; since the first was related to the episode of Jove's intervention, borrowed from Spenser (and used, though briefly and incidentally, by Niccols in The Beggers Ape), and the second was an adaptation of the allegorical method of The Faerie Queen (which also had previously been tried by Niccols in The Cuckow). With regard to the convention of creating a framework within which the allegorical story is told, Hepwith broke away from all of his possible models, including Spenser, except The Owles Araygnement and The Cuckow.

The Calidonian Forrest and The Hind and the Panther

John Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, published in 1687, is not at all a typical, and is scarcely a true, animal-satire. Its author does not scruple to drop the fiction and speak in his own person; in the second and third parts he conducts long discussions about the doctrine and the history of the Church — discussions which only the names given the speakers relate in any way to the beast-allegory. In the third part he represents the Panther as telling a story concerning the Swallow, which comes nearer to being a true specimen of our *genre* than is the satire as a whole.

The evidence of Dryden's having read *The Calidonian Forrest* is the scantiest possible, and yet may be enough. It is simply that in the opening of his poem, when he has occasion to mention the setting of his story, he writes:

Of these a slaughtered army lay in bloud, Extended o'er the *Caledonian* wood, Their native walk.

It seems likely that when Hepwith chose his name for England, he was expressing some lingering resentment at the Scottish settlement. Thus Francis Osborne, writing of the period 1603–1610, said: 2 "In

² Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James (1658), p. 70.

¹ Even The Cuckow begins with an astronomical dating of spring which suggests, and almost provides, such a framework as is created in the other works.

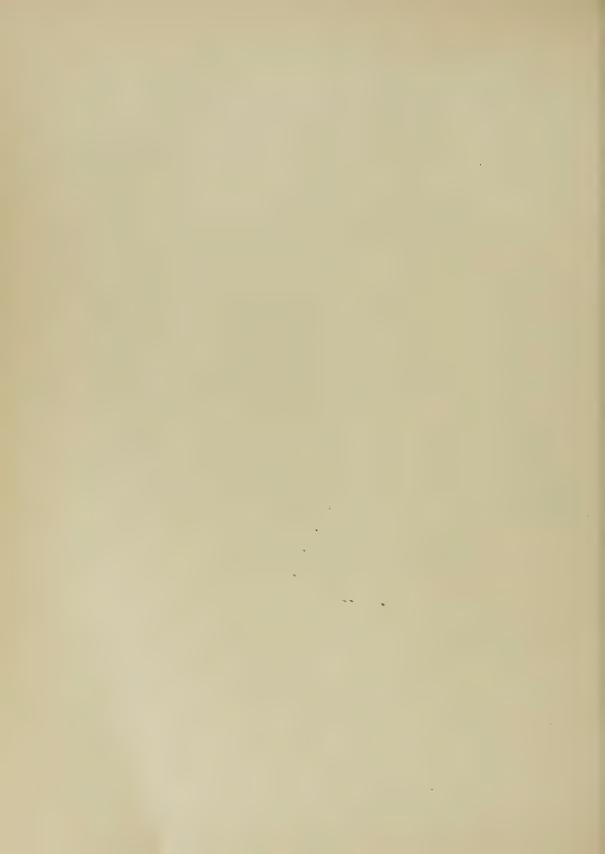
the mean time this Nation was rooted up by those Caledonian Bores." Dryden could not have had the same reason for choosing the name; and it is possible, if not likely, that he took it from Hepwith's satire. We should also note that a white hind appears in The Calidonian Forrest, not as a character in the fiction but by way of comparison with the Hart (p. 5):

Sertorius that famous Roman knight, Would never bring his Souldiers out to fight, Till he had beene by his white Hinde advised Of future haps, even so the Lion prized The Counsell of this Hart.

Finally, whether or not we can say that Dryden was familiar with *The Calidonian Forrest*, Hepwith represents, in his breaking away from practically all of the conventions which had shaped the beast-allegory since the Middle Ages, and in his specific and fairly open references to persons and events, a level of satiric freedom very near to Dryden's own. Likewise his verse, by its neatness and smoothness, and his easy use of the classics bring him closer to the satirists of the great period.¹ It is unfortunate that we cannot know more of this gifted and spirited author.

¹ The quarrel of the gods, summarized above, pp. 44-45, is a burlesque upon the scene at the end of Book I of the *Iliad*. I can think of no earlier burlesque of Homer in English, though a comic use of the gods was fairly well established. Mercury's gift to the Lion of an herb that has magic power against enchantments goes back, of course, to the similar gift of Hermes to Odysseus in Homer (*Odyssey*, X, 286-92). Again, Hepwith draws upon the *Frogs* of Aristophanes in this passage, in which frogs presumably represent lawyers (p. 28):

Now was the *Camell* with great office grac'd, And high in awefull seat of Honor plac'd, With lookes and words the Stygian Frogs did check, Who went to cry *Coax* breck *Ekex* neck, Foure times a yeare in that great Hall.



The Reading of Plays during the Puritan Revolution

By LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THEN the Long Parliament on September 2, 1642, ordered that stage plays "cease and be forborn" because such "lascivious Mirth and Levity" did not comport with public calamities and seasons of humiliation, the drama suffered a partial eclipse; yet all the world knows since the publication of studies by Professors Graves, Rollins, and Hotson that its light never went out completely. During the period when Parliament, Army, and Protector ruled, plays continued to be acted surreptitiously, while Authority itself at times winked at the violation of the suppressing ordinances of October 22, 1647, and February 11, 1647/48, which followed the temporary measure of 1642. But the performance of plays was not the only means by which the dramatic spark was kept alive; printers and booksellers engaged in a lively traffic in playbooks, and the reading of plays was a diversion enjoyed by many an aristocrat and liberal citizen who had no sympathy with Puritan blue laws. In the following pages, I want first to call attention to the circulation and reading of both old and new plays during the period between 1642 and 1660, and then briefly to point out some of the political implications of the plays read, particularly those newly written or revised for publication during this period.

Throughout the troublous times of the Civil Wars, when the nerves of England were on edge and most printing was concerned with controversies, plays continued to be published and read, even though Puritans professed to look upon such literature as an abomination

¹ T. S. Graves, "Notes on Puritanism and the Stage," Studies in Philology, XVIII (1921), 141-69; Hyder E. Rollins, "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," Studies in Philology, XVIII (1921), 267-333; Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928).

before the Lord. Under Cromwell, play publication flourished and many a citizen who found it impossible or inexpedient to witness a play, saw in his mind's eye the doings of royal courts as described in the printed works of dramatists. For most of the plays published during the Puritan revolution were filled with the conventions and atmosphere of a royalist background, or contained outspoken satire of the Puritans and their ideals. The reading of plays so helped to solace the royal prisoner at Windsor in 1648 that a news writer reported that the King was merry and spent "much time in reading . . . Shakespeare and Ben: Johnsons Playes." But lesser folk than King Charles tasted the forbidden pleasures of drama; for instance, in A Mirror or Looking Glass for Saints and Sinners (1657), Samuel Clarke described "A certain man that had spent much time in reading Play-books, and Romances"; this man had a friend "that coming to his Chamber, took down from off a shelfe a Play-book," and was so pleased with it that he came to borrow another until the owner, "being grieved to see his friend infected," burned his library of drama which had proved such a dangerous temptation to the righteous.2 This Puritan play-collector perhaps was well advised to destroy his quartos, for the reading of plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Shirley, Brome, and a score of others was not likely to strengthen antiprelatical republicanism.

Even though many Puritans regarded the reading of plays as an idle and vicious waste of time, the suppression of the sale and publication of playbooks had to defer to the more urgent necessity of hunting out the "mercuries," "occurrences," and other news pamphlets which mercilessly flayed the enemies of the King. Compared with the pamphlets which fanned controversies into flame, the iniquity of plays was so mild that censors of the press passed over them in silence. Among the acts which Parliament passed for the regulation of printing during the period of the revolution, none singles out playbooks by name, and I have found no evidence that the authorities bestirred themselves to check the circulation of printed drama. Enough violent news-sheets and libels issued from the press to keep the censors and searchers busy without bothering about the improprieties found in belles lettres,

¹ Quoted by Rollins (op. cit., p. 293) from Perfect Occurrences.

² Hyder E. Rollins, "The Commonwealth Drama: Miscellaneous Notes," Studies in Philology, XX (1923), 62.

though occasionally some literary production did come under the ban; for example, the Council of State on April 25, 1656, ordered the Lord Mayor of London to collect and burn Sportive Wit, or the Muses' Merriment because it contained "much scandalous, lascivious, scurrilous, and profane matter," 1 and on May 9, 1656, it likewise ordered that Choice Drollery, Songs, and Sonnets be burnt because it was "a book stuffed with profane and obscene matter tending to the corruption of manners." 2 But in general the ordinances regulating printing aimed at instruments of propaganda more obvious than plays. Indeed, the opposition of the authorities to the performance of plays was prompted less by a belief in their sinfulness than by a fear of the assembly of crowds. Giovanni Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador, wrote the Doge and Senate on November 12, 1655, that "They have absolutely forbidden plays suspecting that these gatherings of the people might occasion some disadvantage to the present state of affairs," and again on January 4, 1656, he reported that "as the government dreads gatherings of people, all conventicles and meetings are forbidden, and plays and parties in particular, from fear that under the guise of recreation they may be plotting something against the present rulers." 3 Government energy, therefore, went into the suppression of libels and the dispersal of theater crowds, while printers and booksellers were left free to make what they could out of plays, even if written by notorious royalists and Puritan-haters.

Despite the railing of preachers against plays — perhaps in part because of it — the popular demand for dramatic texts was great, both before and during the Puritan revolution. Throughout the period, booksellers were able to supply many Elizabethan plays, even when no new editions were available, for during the first half of the century many of the favorite plays had been frequently reprinted. For instance, fourteen editions of the anonymous *Mucedorus* between 1598 and 1668 have been preserved; *Doctor Faustus* went through eight printings between 1604 and 1663; *Richard III* appeared in quarto

^{*} Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655-1656, p. 298.

² Ibid., p. 314.

³ Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1655–1656, pp. 138, 165. Race meetings were also suppressed because it was charged that royalists used such occasions for plotting. Penruddock's rising in 1655 had made Puritan authorities more than usually nervous.

eight times between 1597 and 1634; Richard II six times in the same period; I Henry IV eight times between 1598 and 1639; Pericles six times between 1607 and 1635. Philaster had six editions between 1620 and 1652; The Maid's Tragedy six editions between 1619 and 1650; A King and No King six editions between 1619 and 1661; Bussy D'Ambois five editions between 1607 and 1657. Other plays were equally popular, and the demand for old plays often ran the price up. Lord Conway, sometime commander of King Charles's horse against the Scots, requested in 1653 that a certain Theodorus procure for him a parcel of books, all of which were dispatched to his Lordship in due course, save the play of The Two Noble Kinsmen, because, Theodorus reports, "As I could not buy the play of the Two Noble Kinsmen under 2 s., I wait further orders." Occasionally old plays were gathered together and bound up with a new title-page to give the appearance of a collected edition. This was done in 1652 with a collection of eight of Marston's plays, and in the same year with six plays by Chapman.²

Readers in search of plays were aided by the advertisements which booksellers inserted at the end of their published works and even in news pamphlets authorized by Parliament ³—evidence enough that the authorities were not much concerned about the circulation of playbooks. London booksellers dealt in plays, along with miscellaneous works, as a matter of course, and there is no evidence that they ever hesitated to announce their wares publicly. Their lists show that many old plays, printed before the troubles, were still on the market. Although numerous books printed during this period contain lists of plays, the two fullest catalogues of plays, old and new, are those appended to Thomas Goffe's *The Careless Shepherdess*, printed "for Richard Rogers and William Ley. . . . to be sould at Pauls Chaine nere Doctors commons, 1656," and to *The Old Law*, attributed to Philip Massinger, Thomas Middleton, and William Rowley, and "Printed for Edward Archer, at the signe of the Adam and Eve, in

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1652-1653, pp. 420, 436.

² See Robert E. Brettle, "Bibliographical Notes on Some Marston Quartos and Early Collected Editions," *The Library*, 4th Ser., VIII (1927–28), 347–48.

³ Rollins, "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," op. cit., pp. 302-3.

Little Britaine. 1656." The list printed with The Careless Shepherdess provides what the publishers claim is "An exact and perfect Catologue of all Playes that are Printed," totaling nearly five hundred titles alphabetically arranged. It is safe to assume that the aim of the booksellers in compiling such a list was to advertise plays which were still available. Although plays published during the previous half century naturally make up most of the list, a fair number of examples of early Elizabethan drama appear. Named, for instance, are such old plays as Cambises, Lusty Juventus, King Darius, Like Will to Like Quoth the Devil to the Collier (which Jane Bell also advertised on the verso of the title-page of her edition of King Lear in 1655), and many another drama which had not been performed or printed in more than fifty years. But persons sufficiently interested to search for them were still

able to find a few old copies in the bookstalls.

That the plays enumerated in the somewhat longer catalogue appended to The Old Law were all still for sale is explicitly stated by the stationers. The list, which comprises roughly six hundred and fifty plays, is thus described in the heading: "An Exact and perfect Catalogue of all the Plaies that were ever printed; together with all the Authors names; and what are Comedies, Histories, Interludes, Masks, Pastorels, Tragedies: And all these Plaies you may either have at the Signe of the Adam and Eve, in Little Britain; or, at the Ben Johnson's Head in Thredneedle-street, over against the Exchange." Apparently the stationers at the Sign of the Adam and Eve and Ben Jonson's Head were trying to produce a fuller list than their brothers-in-trade who vended their wares at Paul's Chain near Doctors' Commons. Both catalogues are alike in advertising a number of plays dating from the early years of Elizabethan dramatic history. The Old Law catalogue, for example, includes the morality *Hickscorner* (which it spells "Dick Scorner"), The Enterlude of Youth, Thersites, Richard Edwards' Damon and Pithias, and other plays belonging to the formative period of the drama. Nor were the latest plays omitted because they libeled the party in power, for one finds advertised Samuel Sheppard's The Committee-Man Curried (1647), a satirical playlet which ridiculed Parliamentarians. With these catalogues to guide him, the connoisseur of dramatic literature was equipped to make a collection of the most notable plays that had been printed.

The demand for plays was clearly sufficient to make them a source of considerable profit to the booksellers. At the end of a list of over a score of plays advertised by Gabriel Bedell and Thomas Collins in a catalogue appended to Walter Mountague's The Accomplished Woman (1656), the publishers announce that they propose to reprint some of the titles enumerated because they are growing scarce. "You may please to take notice," they state, "that here are some few Playes worn out of print, which we purpose to reprint; and there are several other Books in the Note also grown scarce, and but smal numbers left. The reason of this intimation, or printed Catalogue, is to perpetuate the memory of the said Books and Copies belonging to your Servants." The list includes Ben Jonson's The Devil Is an Ass; Barten Holiday's Τεχνογαμία: The Marriages of the Arts; Cosmo Manuche's The Just General and The Bastard; Thomas Goffe's The Raging Turk, or Bajazet II, The Courageous Turk, or Amurath I, and The Tragedy of Orestes; William Davenant's The Wits, The Platonic Lovers, and The Triumph of Prince D'Amour, a mask; John Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess; Shakespeare's The Merry Wives of Windsor; Thomas Middleton's Michaelmas Term and The Phoenix; Thomas Heywood's Edward IV; Shakerley Marmion's A Fine Companion; Edward Sharpham's Cupid's Whirligig; William Peaps's Love in Its Ecstasy; Robert Mead's The Combat of Love and Friendship; Sir William Lower's The Martyr, Horatius, and Scaevoli ("now in the Press"); and The Hectors, or the False Challenge "by a Person of Learning and Eminence." This list is typical of the kind of plays which many booksellers were stocking for their trade. Certainly drama-hating Puritans could find little to solace them in these works, some of them recently published from the pens of such unregenerate Cavaliers as Sir William Lower.

Dramatic publication from 1642 to 1660 faltered at times, especially during the first few years of the troubles, but after 1646 the printing of plays definitely began to increase. For the most part, plays were selected for publication from the dramatists who had made the strongest appeal to the audiences of the more fashionable playhouses in the years immediately preceding the closing of the theaters. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Richard Brome, Thomas Middleton, Philip Massinger, James Shirley, Thomas Goffe, Lodowick Carlell, Jasper Mayne, Sir John Suckling, John Tatham, William Cartwright,

Thomas Randolph, William Davenant, and others of like temper furnished copy for the printers. Only three plays of Shakespeare were published: The Merchant of Venice (1652) and Othello (1655), printed for William Leake, and King Lear (1655), printed for Jane Bell. No quartos of Ben Jonson's exclusive authorship appeared, though his plays were readily available in the folio edition of 1640. Besides the playwrights who had been popular in the theaters during the reign of Charles I, new authors arose to furnish dramatic texts that found a reading audience when they did not reach the stage. Such writers were William Peaps, Leonard Willan, George D'Ouivilly, Thomas Meriton, and a few others who attempted the dramatic form. In subject matter, the plays most favored by readers, if one can judge from the offerings of the publishers, were romantic tragicomedies. At the time the theaters were closed, these plays were the favorite type, and it is not surprising that the reading public continued to demand them. The press having taken the place of the stage, it sought the approval of the public that had applauded the sentimental drama so prevalent in the reign of Charles, and thereby it won the frowns of some of the godly, as the author of a poem 2 prefatory to The Queen, Or The Excellency Of Her Sex (1653) comments satirically:

Can there no favour to the scaene be shown Because Jack Fletcher was a Bishops son, Or since that order is condemn'd doe you Think poets therefore Antichristian too; Is it unlawfull since the stage is down To make the press act: where no ladies swoune At the red coates intrusion: none are strip't; No Histriomastix has the copy whip't No man d'on Womens cloth's: the guiltles presse Weares its own innocent garments: its own dresse, Such as free nature made it: . . .

2 "To Mr. Alexander Goughe upon his publishing The excellent Play call'd the Queen;

or the Excellencie of her Sex"; signed R. C.

On September 17, 1658, Thomas Walkley licensed "A booke called Ben Johnsons Workes ye 3d volume . . . ," which he transferred to Humphrey Moseley on November 20 of the same year. Neither printed the work. See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethian Stage* (Oxford, 1923), III, 355–56.

The most noteworthy single landmark in dramatic publication during this period was the folio edition of the Comedies And Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont And John Fletcher Gentlemen, which Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson brought out in 1647. The dedication to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, signed by a group of ten actors headed by John Lowin, indicates that players who had been in the King's Company were instrumental in bringing together this collection, which, Humphrey Moseley boasts in a preface of his own, consists of new plays printed from the authors' own copies:

One thing I must answer before it bee objected; 'tis this: When these Comedies and Tragedies were presented on the Stage, the Actours omitted some Scenes and Passages (with the Authour's consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir'd a Copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they Acted. But now you have both All that was Acted, and all that was not; even the perfect full Originalls without the least mutilation; So that were the Authours living, (and sure they can never dye) they themselves would challenge neither more nor lesse then what is here published; this Volume being now so compleate and finish'd, that the Reader must expect no future Alterations.¹

Though the work made a handsome volume, Moseley emphasized its reasonable price in comparison with the sum readers had been willing to pay for a manuscript copy of any one of the plays which had circulated widely in that form. "Heretofore when Gentlemen desired but a Copy of any of these Playes," Moseley observes, "the meanest piece here (if any may be called Meane where every one is Best) cost them more then foure times the price you pay for the whole Volume."

The plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, in the opinion of sophisticated persons of the day, presented the finest epitomes of wit and instruction available for the training of a gentleman. As a certain "Grandison" comments in a prefatory poem addressed "To the Stationer,"

'Tis not all Kingdomes joyn'd in one could buy (If priz'd aright) so true a Library Of man: where we the characters may finde Of ev'ry Nobler and each baser minde.

¹ "The Stationer to the Reader"; signed by Humphrey Moseley and dated February 14, 1646.

You'l say the Poet's both best Judge and Priest, No guilty soule abides so sharp a test As their smooth Pen; for what these rare men writ Commands the World, both Honesty and Wit.

But the clearest statement of the instructive quality in these plays is made by the authors' fellow dramatist, James Shirley, in the preface "To The Reader":

. . . not one indiscretion hath branded this Paper in all the Lines, this being the Authentick witt that made Blackfriers an Academy, where the three howers spectacle while Beaumont and Fletcher were presented, were usually of more advantage to the hopefull young Heire, then a costly, dangerous, forraigne Travell, with the assistance of a governing Mounsieur, or Signior to boot; And it cannot be denied but that the young spirits of the Time, whose Birth & Quality made them impatient of the sowrer wayes of education, have from the attentive hearing these pieces, got ground in point of wit and carriage of the most severely employed Students, while these Recreations were digested into Rules, and the very Pleasure did edifie. How many passable discoursing dining witts stand yet in good credit upon the bare stock of two or three of these single Scenes.

And now Reader in this Tragicall Age where the Theater hath been so much out-acted, congratulate thy owne happinesse that in this silence of the Stage, thou hast a liberty to reade these inimitable Playes, to dwell and converse in these immortall Groves, where were only shewd our Fathers in a conjuring glasse, as suddenly removed as represented, the Landscrap is now brought home by this optick, and the Presse thought too pregnant before, shall be now look'd upon as greatest Benefactor to Englishmen, that must acknowledge all felicity of witt and words to this Derivation.

Many English gentlemen in this troublous period of civil strife believed that all that was best in urbane culture was crashing about them; to them the polite gallantries of Beaumont and Fletcher symbolized the courtly life that was the goal of gentlemanly education, a life that was being destroyed by the blind zeal of Puritans who had no appreciation of courtesy and wit. But, thanks to the industry of Moseley and Robinson, the press was succeeding to the function of the academy at Blackfriars, and lovers of the courtly mode of conduct could learn from the printed page what they had formerly seen and heard on the stage. While Parliament was strengthening its control of the stage

and the press in 1647, the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher

came to solace distraught royalist gentlemen.

This work, prefaced by forty-three pages of commendatory poems, was almost a literary manifesto of Cavalier writers. To praise the dramatists who so completely expressed their social and literary ideals, poems were contributed by Sir Aston Cokayne, Sir Robert Stapylton, John Denham, Richard Lovelace, William Habington, James Howell, Thomas Stanley, Roger L'Estrange, Jasper Mayne, Robert Herrick, William Cartwright, John Berkenhead, Alexander Brome, Richard Brome, James Shirley, and many others. Most of the poems are extravagant panegyrics of the authors, with occasional glances at Puritan authorities who had deprived the public of the performance of these plays. But comments James Howell:

... since we cannot have Thee trod o' th' stage, Wee will applaud Thee in this silent Page.¹

And Shirley concludes his verses with a hope for peace and a wistful regret over the absence of the King, who was by this time already in the hands of the Parliamentary army and by November was to become a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle:

As I goe Swan-like out, Our Peace is nigh; A Balme unto the wounded Age I sing, And nothing now is wanting but the King.²

The publication of the folio clearly met with the approval of the reading public, and Moseley was led to reprint other plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, which he had deliberately left out of the folio because they had been previously published and were doubtless still available. The appearance of a collection, however, sent readers in search of the omitted plays. Moseley, therefore, reprinted in 1648 The Woman Hater and Thierry and Theodoret (both reissued in 1649); in 1651, The Scornful Lady and The Elder Brother; in 1652, The Wild-Goose Chase (in folio). Copy for the last named play had not been available in 1647 for the collected edition, and the publisher in his preface had advertised for it. Another bookseller, William Leake, brought out other plays by Beaumont and Fletcher: in 1650, The

James Howell, "Vpon Master Fletchers Dramaticall Workes," sig. b 4.
James Shirley, "Upon the Printing of Mr. Iohn Fletchers workes," sig. g 1.

Maid's Tragedy; in 1652, Philaster; and in 1655, A King and No King. In 1656 Gabriel Bedell and T. Collins published The Faithful Shepherdess, and issued a Latin version of it two years later. So high was the prestige of these two playwrights and so widely read were they during the fallow years of the Puritan revolution that it is not surprising that they should have colored extensively the drama of the Restoration.

Play readers were indebted to Humphrey Moseley for many more plays besides the works of the two most favored dramatists. Throughout the period, he was diligent in the publication of the best literature of his day, and the plays brought out by him far outnumbered those of any other publisher. Although he asserted in his preface to Milton's Poems (1645) that "It is not any private respect of gain, Gentle Reader, for the slightest Pamphlet is now adayes more vendible then the Works of learnedest men; but it is the love I have to our own Language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such Peeces both in Prose and Vers, as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue," he was nevertheless too good a business man to publish many works at a loss, for the fact remains that he made a comfortable fortune in publishing and selling books. That a considerable portion of his output was dramatic literature argues that Londoners were buying and reading plays in large quantities despite Puritan prejudice and the distractions of civil conflict. Among Moseley's important contributions to dramatic publication, in addition to the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher already mentioned, are the following: Sir John Suckling, Fragmenta Aurea (1646; new editions in 1648 and 1658), which included three plays, Aglaura, The Goblins, and Brennoralt; Robert Baron, Mirza (1647); William Cavendish, The Country Captain and The Variety (1648); Sir William Davenant, Love and Honor and The Unfortunate Lovers (1649); William Cartwright, Comedies, Tragicomedies, with Other Poems (1651); The Widow (1652), attributed to Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton; Richard Brome, Five New Plays (1653); Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The

¹ A concise account of Moseley's activities, with a reprint of his prefaces and a list of books published or advertised by him, is that by John Curtis Reed, *Humphrey Moseley*, *Publisher (Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers*, II, Pt. 11; Oxford, 1929). See also David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London, 1880), VI, 400-403.

Changeling (1653); James Shirley, Six New Plays (1653); Thomas May, Two Tragedies, viz. Cleopatra and Agrippina (1654); Lodowick Carlell, The Passionate Lovers (1655); Philip Massinger, Three New Plays: The Bashful Lover, The Guardian, The Very Woman (1655); James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice and The Polititian (1655); Lodowick Carlell, Two New Plays. 1. The Fool Would Be a Favorite. 2. Osmond the Great Turk (1657); Thomas Middleton, No Wit, No Help, Like a Woman's (1657) and Two New Plays: More Dissemblers Besides Women; Women Beware Women (1657); Lodowick Carlell, The Deserving Favorite (1659); George Chapman, Revenge for Honor (1659); and John Webster, Appius and Virginia (1659). These titles do not suggest that Moseley was unselfishly dedicated to the task of printing fine literature without a consideration for profits, but rather that the public was making a demand for dramatic literature which he, as an intelligent business man, was attempting to supply. He owned more play manuscripts than any other publisher, and until the end of his life in 1661 he was busy with projects for dramatic publications.

Moseley's offerings of plays were not confined merely to the texts which he himself published, for as an alert bookseller with an eye to what the public would buy, he carried in stock most of the plays then on the market. If there was one place in London where a purchaser would be likely to find the play he wanted, whether it was old or new, it was at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard, where Moseley kept shop for thirty-one years during the most chaotic period of England's history since the Wars of the Roses. Through all the troubles, however, Moseley remained a seller of good literature, which included the best poetry, drama, and romances of his time, and the public rewarded him with a liberal patronage. One reason for his success was the diligence with which he advertised his wares by printing catalogues of them in many of the books published in his name. It is these lists which show the relative importance of plays among the bookseller's stock. Dramatic literature comprised a little over twenty per cent of the total number of titles in most of his lists. For example, out of 136 items in the list appended to the 1648 edition of Suckling's Fragmenta Aurea, 31 are plays, masques, collections of plays, or collected poems

¹ For a discussion of plays which Moseley licensed for publication, see W. W. Greg, "The Bakings of Betsy," *The Library*, 3d Ser., II (1911), 225-59.

which contain plays, whereas only 21 items are listed under the somewhat bold head, from the Puritan point of view, of "Severall Sermons, with other excellent Tracts in Divinity, written by some most eminent and learned Bishops, and Orthodox Divines." Ten additional works of piety are included under "Books in Divinity Lately Printed," bringing the total number of religious and theological works to 31, exactly balancing the profane and godless literature of the stage. Surely in this age of fervor, when theological pamphlets fell from the press like leaves in autumn, Moseley's proportion of drama to sermons must have seemed extraordinary to pious book purchasers. Other advertisements preserve much the same proportions. Of 248 items enumerated in the list appended to Lodowick Carlell's Two New Plays, 48 are dramatic works, but only 41 are classified under sermons and divinity. The leading bookseller of London, if one may judge him by the quality of his offerings, was so convinced that the public would buy good literature that he did not deign to advertise for sale the ephemeral literature which made up so large a part of the stock of many stationers. The support he received showed that his belief that London still contained enough people of cultivated tastes to make a market for poetry, romance, and drama was justified.

That the majority of Humphrey Moseley's authors were royalists, some of whom were in exile before their books were printed, merely attests to the literary activities of the Cavalier poets and dramatists. When William Cartwright's Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, With other Poems appeared in 1651 under the aegis of Moseley, John Leigh adorned it with a prefatory poem "To the Stationer (Mr Moseley) on his Printing Mr Cartwright's Poems," in which he called the roll of Cavalier writers who owed publication to Moseley, and concluded with an appeal to him to bring out other plays and poems by royalist

authors:

And since thy hand is in, gather up all Those precious Lines which brave Wits have let fall; Gather up all that from Mayne's fansy fell, Whose able Muse hath done so oft so well: Give us all Cleveland, all his gallant lines, Whose Phansie still in strong Expressions shines: Give us all Berkenhead, whose soul can more In half an hour than others in four score:

Give us what Cowley's later years brought forth, His Mistresse shews he was a Wit by birth: Give us our Northern Vincent, and our Brown, Who are true Wits though not so publike known: Give us all these, and all omitted here, For times approach wherein Wit will be dear. So, as poor folkes delight to talk of wealth, I name good Wits, though I am none my self."

In a period when journalism ran riot and the power of Parliament could not suppress hostile news-books and pamphlets, it was not necessary for royalists to restrict their attacks upon the party in control to allegorical plays and the oblique allusions of the drama. Nevertheless, the drama proved a useful medium for the expression of royalist ideals and for attacks upon the weaknesses of the Puritans as seen through Cavalier eyes. The following pages of this essay attempt to give more specific illustrations of the way in which plays carried politi-

cal suggestions.

What influence such dramatic propaganda had, one can only guess; but since plays were popular with a reasonably large group of intelligent readers, the insidious reiteration of Cavalier doctrines must have had some weight. Practically all the drama, both that written before the closing of the theaters and that written afterward, presented the Cavalier point of view, for with few exceptions the Stuart dramatists were ardent royalists. Hence old plays were almost as pat to the purpose of royalist propaganda as those written especially with that in mind. Stage attacks on the Puritans had been so violent and bitter in the years preceding 1642 2 that many of the plays of that period must have been read, in the years of Puritan supremacy, with peculiar unction by haters of the stiff-necked tribe. It is significant that most of the plays chosen for reprinting between 1642 and 1660 were from dramatists who had best represented courtly ideals. The plays of Beaumont and Fletcher,3 as has been previously observed, are notable examples of this tendency. Other illustrations will occur in the dis-

The complete poem is reprinted by Reed, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

³ Graves, op. cit., p. 165.

² See E. N. S. Thompson, The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage (Yale Studies in English, XX; New York, 1903), pp. 196 ff.

cussion which follows. Allusions to the belief that treason was to be found in plays, expressed by some of the prologues, must have been read with a new meaning when they were printed in the revolutionary period. Included in James Shirley's *Poems* (1646) was "A Prologue to his play called the Brothers," which makes an ironical reference to the fear of treasonable plays:

He sayes the Times are dangerous; who knows What Treason may be wrapt in subtle Prose, Or gyant-verse, at least to sence? [P. 156.]

And Abraham Cowley in the epilogue to *The Guardian* (1650), which had been acted before Prince Charles at Trinity College, Cambridge, on March 12, 1641, expresses the anxiety that

It may offend your Highness, and we've now Three hours done treason here, for ought we know.

Incidentally, the printed prologue, which, from its allusions to later events, was evidently written or altered after the performance of the play, had particular point at the time it was published, for it declares:

But our Scene's London now, and by the rout We perish if the Roundheads be about: For now no ornament the head must wear, No Bays, no Mitre, not so much as Hair. How can a Play pass safely, when we know, Cheapside-Cross falls for making but a show? Our onely hope is this, that it may be A Play may pass too, made ex tempore. Though other Arts poor and neglected grow, They'll admit Poetry, which was always so. Besides, the Muses of late times have bin Sanctifi'd by the Verse of Master Prin. But we contemn the fury of these days, And scorn as much their Censure as their Praise.

Useful as a disclaimer of any ulterior meaning must have been the prologue with which Beaumont and Fletcher equipped *The Woman Hater* and which Moseley was careful to reprint with the quarto play in 1648; it warned that "if there be any lurking amongst you in Corners, with Tablebookes, who have some hope to finde fitt matter to feede his

mallice on, let them claspe them up, and slinke away . . ." But many a reader of these plays did find matter that fed his malice or made him wistful for the good days when King Charles reigned at Whitehall.

Not only was the legitimate drama employed for political purpose during the period of revolution, but the dramatic form was used for a number of out-and-out political pamphlets, some of which were probably surreptitiously acted. These were usually playlets, divided into five acts of a few pages each, in which either general types or specific persons in contemporary politics were ridiculed. Whether they were read or were witnessed on some improvised stage, the political object was effective. Needless to say, these playlets were secretly printed. A good example of the type is The Committee-Man Curried. A Comedy presented to the view of all Men. Written by S. Sheppard. A piece discovering the corruption of Committee-men, and Excise-men; the unjust sufferings of the Royall party, the divellish hypocrisie of some Round-heads, the revolt for gaine of some Ministers. Not without pleasant mirth, and variety (1647). The title is sufficient revelation of the nature of the farce, which ridicules committeemen in particular and the Puritan party in general. A prologue laments the degeneracy of an age that will not countenance the wit of plays, and concludes:

How shall these Sceanes scape free (ye wiser few) That are not retrograded with the crew O' the reforming ones, since tis enacted That nought but fiery Faction shall be acted; And since the prudent now have ordered so, Fooles onely speake Cum privilegio. We in obedience, so as we can, Have given words to a Committee-man.

This playlet so successfully escaped the authorities that on August 14, 1647, as George Thomason records, a sequel appeared which was entitled *The Second Part of the Committee-man Curried. By the first Author*, S. S. In the manner of the old morality plays, it has among its characters certain personified abstractions: Rebellion, Loyalty, Poverty, Sleep, and Death. Near the end, Loyalty exclaims when Rebellion threatens to hang himself:

Come, let's away, Rebellion hang'd and dead, Loyalty with applause will shew his head. Playlets similar to this sought from time to time to stir up hostility against the Puritan party. In a Tragi-Comedy called New-Market-Fayre, Or A Parliament Out-Cry (1649), Cromwell and other Puritan leaders commit suicide upon hearing of the accession of Charles II. A sequel, The Second Part of the Tragi-Comedy, called New-Market Fayre. Or Mrs. Parliaments New Figaries. Written by the Man in the Moon [1649], announces that it

. . . cannot chuse but make proud rebels rage, To see themselves thus acted on the Stage.

The play ends with a petition for the recall of the King.¹ The title of The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I, Basely Butchered (1649) reveals its subject matter. By making the objects of their attacks concretely ridiculous, these playlets, and others like them,² provided peculiarly effective assaults upon the Roundheads. If they were not actually performed, at least they reached a large audience experienced in play reading.

Readers were expected to see parallels to contemporary conditions in plays which were less patently political in motive than the secretly printed playlets. For example, in prefatory verses to Robert Baron's Mirza. A Tragedie, Really acted in Persia, in the last Age, published by Humphrey Moseley in 1647, John Quarles makes this comment:

We mourn thy loss, admire thy worth, and grieve Our Isle a Mirz and Allybeg can give. Thus Text and Time doe sute, and whilst you tell Your Tale, wee'l easily find a Parallell.

The parallel is not too obvious, but clearly some allegorical interpretation was made of the tragedy in which Abbas, King of Persia, worked upon by a false favorite Alley-Beg, blinds and imprisons his son Mirza,

I am indebted to Professor Rollins' article, "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," op. cit., p. 298, for the facts about these two playlets.

² See ibid., pp. 294, 298, 306, and passim, for a few other examples: Women Will Have their Will: Or, Give Christmas his Due (1648); A Bartholomew Fairing (1649); The Disease of the House: Or, the State Mountebanck: Administring Physick To a Sick Parliament. With the Merry Conceits of John Capon, his Antidotes Playsters and Salves to cure Rebellion. Printed for the Health, of the Common-wealth (1649). Scarcely to be classified as a playlet was The Cuckows Nest at Westminster (1648), a pamphlet which concludes with a page of scurrilous dialogue between Mrs. Cromwell and Queen Fairfax.

who in the end wreaks vengeance by murdering his own child Fatyma

because the old King dotes upon her.

An allegorical parallel to events of the day is suggested by Richard Fanshawe in the dedication to Prince Charles of his translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, *The faithfull Shepherd*, printed by R. Raworth in 1647. The distractions of the state, which Guarini himself allegorized, were much the same as those which his readers were witnessing, Fanshawe hints:

. . . our Authour (exposing to ordinary view an Enterlude of Shepherds, their loves, and other little concernments, with the stroke of a lighter pencill) presents through the perspective of the Chorus, another and more suitable object to his Royall Spectators. He shews to them the image of a gasping State (once the most flourishing in the world): A wild Boar (the sword) depopulating the Country: the Pestilence unpeopling the Towns: their gods themselves in the mercilesse humane Sacrifices exacting bloody contribution from both: and the Priests (a third Estate of misery) bearing the burthen of all in the Chorus, where they deplore their owne and the common Calamitie. Yet in the Catastrophe, the Boar slain; the Pestilence (but this was before upon that miserable composition with their Gods) ceased; the Priests above all others exulting with pious joy: and all this miraculous change occasioned by the presaged Nuptials of two of Divine (that is, Royall) extraction; meaning those at that time of the Duke of Savoy with the Infanta of Spain, from which fortunate Conjunction hee prophesies a finall period to the troubles that had formerly distracted that State: So much depends upon the Marriages of Princes. . . .

Yet because it seems to me (beholding it at the best light) a Lantskip of these Kingdoms, (your Royall Patrimony) as well in the former flourishing, as the present distractions thereof, I thought it not improper for your Princely notice at this time, thereby to occasion your Highness, even in your recreations, to reflect upon the sad Originall, not without hope to see it yet speedily make a perfect parallell throughout; and also your self a great Instrument of it. Whether by some happy Royall Marriage (as in this Pastorall, and the case of Savoy, to which it alludes) thereby uniting a miserably divided people in a publick joy; or by such other wayes and means as it may have pleased the Divine Providence to ordain for an end

of our woe; I leave to that Providence to determine.

The reference to the divine origin of kings and the hope for a country united in peace, celebrating the glory of the House of Stuart, must

have been pleasing to the harassed royalists in 1647. It is worthy of note that the play was again brought out in the following year, this time by Humphrey Moseley, who published it "With An Addition of divers other Poems Concluding with a short Discourse Of The Long Civill Warres Of Rome" — a historical episode whose parallel was sufficiently clear. Among the additional poems is to be found one "On the Earle of Straffords Tryall," which gives fulsome praise to the

King's unfortunate minister.

Loyal utterances concerning the divinity of kings must have been a secret reason for the publication of a play by William Peaps, printed for Mercy Meighen, Gabriel Bedell, and Thomas Collins in the year of the King's death; it bore a title that called up memories of royalty: Love In it's Extasie: Or The large Prerogative. A kind of Royall Pastorall written long since, by a Gentleman, Student at Æton, and now published (1649). That kings absolutely control the lives of their subjects, and, as God's representatives on earth, must not be questioned, are lessons piously emphasized in the play, whose teachings sound peculiarly daring at the time when the "large prerogative" of Charles could not save him from the profane hands of the common headsman.

The parallel between conditions in England and those described in T. B.'s play, The Rebellion of Naples, Or The Tragedy Of Massenello (1649), were so close that the author hastened to disclaim any covert intentions. Yet readers could not have failed to make the proper application of the lessons of the play, which deals with the attempt of a general, Massenello, to seize the power from the rightful ruler, the Viceroy of Naples. Seemingly imbued with virtuous and patriotic motives, he is persuaded by his secretary to make himself wealthy and powerful by taxing the people. At length, however, he is overcome by the viceroy and executed. Even in death he continues to move the crowd with evidences of his piety, for the corpse raises itself and blesses the multitude. But the pall is lifted, revealing "a Fryer underneath with his juggling instruments, and Massenelloes false arme discovered." Printed at the moment when Cromwell and his fellow generals were controlling the country, raising money by sequestrations, and talking much about their godly motives, the timeliness of this play was not wasted upon its readers. Indeed, the prologue announces:

... if you'r pleas'd with seasonable things, Here's fightings 'twixt the people and their Kings.

And the epilogue, spoken by the revived Massenello, concludes with a moral lesson to both parties:

Let Kings beware how they provoke Their Subjects with too hard a Yoke, For when all's done, it will not doe, You see they breake the Yoke in two: Let Subjects no rebellion move On such pretences least it prove, As sad a thing, (which God forbid) And fatall as to us it did. Much blood spilt, great battails won, Our treasure spent, and nothing done.

Pride and glory made me mad, Madnesse made me do such things The people wish'd they had their Kings The King assures them acts of grace, Here they leave me in the place.

For Rebellion, and treason; Rots your name, and outs your reason, Could all the traytors that are dead, But rise — they'd say — as I have sed.

But in spite of the obvious political parallels, the author asks the reader to believe that he meant to tell only a Neapolitan tale:

... yet I am perswaded [he says in the preface] that there are some, who will not beleeve otherwise, but that I use Duck policy in my writing, who hiding her head under the water, discovers her own nakednes. . . . Saith another, I warrant you this man drives at notable and remarkable passages of State, if we could understand him. And though Naples be the Scene, yet he plasters his bills upon the walls and gates of London. Truly I know a pick-lock can do no harme to the doore where there is no key to any locke: and if there be any thing in my booke which points at the present condition of our affairs, I assure you the times are busic with me, and not I with the times. Types must agree with their antitypes, like a paire of Indentures, which being compared together seem one and the same, so if you take the

whole substance of this Tragedy and compare it with our transactions, you will finde that the same pen-knife never went between them, . . .

So ingenious a denial fails to convince even a modern reader that the

writer of this play was not "busy with the times."

If T. B. wished to disavow any parallelism between the events of his play and the political troubles of England, no such desire inspired Christopher Wase, who published in the same year the Electra Of Sophocles: Presented To Her Highnesse The Lady Elizabeth; With an Epilogue, Shewing the Parallell in two Poems, The Return, and The Restauration. By C. W. At the Hague, for Sam. Brown, MDCXLIX. The author makes clear throughout the translation that he wants to draw a parallel between the revenge of Orestes and Electra upon Egistus and Clytemnestra for the murder of their father, Agamemnon, and the vengeance which he prophesies will be meted out to the murderers of the late King by the two Stuart children, Charles II and Princess Elizabeth.

Playes [says Wase in the dedication to the Princess Elizabeth] are the Mirrours wherein Mens actions are reflected to their own view. Which, perhaps, is the true cause, that some, privy to the Uglinesse of their own guilt, have issued out Warrants, for the breaking all those Looking-glasses; lest their deformities recoyl, and become an eye-sore unto themselves. This dim Chrystall (sully'd with Antiquitie, and a long voyage) will return upon your Highnesse some Lines and Shadows of that Pietie to your deceased Father, . . .

Friends of the translator prefaced his work with verses pointing out the likeness between the situation in the play and that which would arise when the children of Charles took revenge against his enemies. The author of the verses "To my learned Friend on his apt choice and seasonable translation of Electra in Sophocles," comments on the prudence and wisdom of the translator in making a dead author rebuke the regicides:

Here I might praise the Wisdome of thy Wit, Who gain'st the Croop of danger too in it: For 'tis but Sophocles repeated, and Eccho cannot be guilty or arraign'd. Thus by slight of translation you make

Him libell 'em, who is ten ages back
Out of their reach: and lay your ambush so,
They see not who 'tis hurts 'em. He or You.
Yet each page of your book affrights 'em more,
Then the loud Citie-prentices at doore.
They tremble at their own red actions past,
(For 'tis their Chronicle, but writ in hast.)
And then to see the Punishment they shake,
Reading their Shambles, and themselves in stakes.
When Egist groans, they start, as if the steel
Reacht at their souls, and when He falls, They reel.
Thus it sows spears and Agues in some breasts,
But fills us with the joy of Wine and Feasts,
And Hopes to see it dub'd by Victorie,
And bid, Rise up a perfect Prophecie.

The prophetic element was emphasized by other writers of commendatory verses, and the concluding poems, "The Return" and "The Restauration," give the author the opportunity to view the future through the prophetic eye of hope as he sees in imagination a vision of the Restoration.

Greek drama proved a useful vehicle for another satire on the times, which appeared two years later as Πλουτοφθαλμία Πλουτογαμία. Α Pleasant Comedie, Entituled Hey For Honesty, Down With Knavery. Translated out of Aristophanes his Plutus, By Tho: Randolph. Augmented and Published by F. J. London, Printed in the Year 1651. This is a loose translation of Aristophanes' play, filled with satire and topical allusions to events in England at the time of its publication. Although some of the darts directed against the Puritans are probably to be credited to Randolph himself, those applicable to events after his death in 1635 are the handiwork of F. J., who made the play a virulent attack on the party in power. The play opens with a satirical induction, labeled "The Introduction," in which Aristophanes, the translator, and the Ghost of Cleon appear in a dialogue which ridicules the Puritans. The Ghost of Cleon represents the ghost of John Pym, the Parliamentary leader. The translator warns Aristophanes to mind his language in London, for "doest thou come to speak Hebrew-Greek at

¹ For a discussion of the problem of authorship, see Cyrus L. Day, "Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of Hey for Honesty," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XLI (1926), 325-34.

London? Why three quarters of the City are Round-heads, man, that of all the languages of Babylon think it a heresie to understand any but their native English." Cleon presently makes a speech in which he boasts of his deeds in Athens, which every reader of course instantly identified with England and the acts of Pym:

Time was when Athens felt my great commands, When at a sitting I could breathe out Taxes Could reach a Province; and with stretcht-out justice Crush the Malignant party into aire, That only fed them like Camelions, And good enough: while my own fat Corpusculum Was stufft with dainties; while the boorish Peasants Did bow to save Sequestring; & the Parsons Devoutly pray'd to get a Benefice, Whom I transmitted to Pluralities, Only with caution that they should not have More then some Synod-men. Aristophanes, That wicked Cavalier, I outed him For a malignant Sermon 'gainst my worship, Some twenty years now since. He was a grater Upon his Tithes too, and read Common-prayer. [Sig. A 4.]

Throughout the play there are unflattering references to the Puritans. The Queen of Hell, for example, sauces her food "with the braines of a great Conger-headed Lawyer, butter'd with the grease of a well-fed Committee-man, served up for want of sawcers in the two eares of an unconscionable Scrivener" (p. 18). Later, Never-good, a sequestrator, describing to Ananias Gogle, an Amsterdam-man, his escapades with proud citizens' wives, provokes Ananias to exclaim:

Gog. O sink of sin, and boggards of corruption! Hast thou no honest calling?

Nev. Yes I have: I know a trick to snuffle at Bell-Ally, Raile at the Steeple-houses, and the Popish Bishops, And the Tithe-scraping Priests, Sir-John-Presbyters.

Gog. Out on thee Villain, foe to the holy Cassocks. I do remember thee in the Archbishops time, Thou madest me stand ith Popish pillory With Prin and Burton, only for speaking A little sanctified treason. [P. 32.]

^{*} See ibid., p. 334, for a list of F. J.'s topical allusions.

An allusion to Thomas Cromwell's part in the suppression of nunneries is the opportunity for an opprobrious use of the name: "Had not Cromwell been an Eunuch, he had never perswaded the destruction of such places set up for such uses" (p. 34). The point of many references that were barbed with ridicule is now lost, but enough of the satire is still sufficiently intelligible to show that the author of the late additions to the play was intent upon making it a telling instrument of political propaganda. It should be noted in passing that Randolph's other plays, which were openly printed for F. Bowman to be sold by William Roybould in 1652, contain a large amount of incidental satire of the Puritans. The Muses' Looking Glass, for example, presents Bird, a seller of feathers, and Mrs. Flowerdew, wife of a haberdasher of small wares, "two of the sanctified fraternity of Black-Fryers," represented as pious hypocrites who sell their goods to the actors and frequenters of playhouses, while they prate of the godlessness of players and the vanities of the world.

Patently an allegory of conditions in England was a play by the royalist, John Tatham, The Distracted State, A Tragedy. Written in the Yeer, 1641. By J. T. Gent. Seditiosi Sunt Reipublicae ruina. London, Printed by W. H. for Iohn Tey, . . . 1651. That this play could be boldly printed is an indication of the carelessness of the Parliamentary licensers. It describes a succession of intrigues for the crown of Sicily, after Evander, the rightful king, has been dethroned. Usurper follows usurper to a violent death until Evander at length is restored. The chaos which results when leaders struggle among themselves for the right to rule is emphasized, and Tatham is at pains to show that a leader's patriotism vanishes under the spell of personal ambition. Kings alone have the assurance that permits them to govern the commonwealth with the least of selfish motive. Agathocles and Epecides, two of the leaders, make these points in several passages discussing kingship, as in the following dialogue: .

Agath. Suppose
We would allow of Kingly Power, where is
The Man discended from that Race? Cleander

¹ Thomas Randolph, Poems. with the Muses Looking Glasse. Amyntas. Jealous Lovers. Arystippus . . . The fourth Edition enlarged. London, Printed for F. Bowman, and are to be sold by William Roybould . . . 1652.

He was but one of us the other day; And sure we are not of so tame a brood, But to think We deserv't as well as he. Why should not you Icetis, or Hipparinus Rule, or thou, Epecides, or my self? W'are of as good a Mould, and have as much T'elate us, as his Worship.

Epeci. Very right.

And have as great an Interest in the People
And Common-wealth; this of Necessity
Must breed Confusion 'mongst us, this Example
Kindles in every Man desire of Rule,
Which to Atchieve, how perilous so e'r
Th' Attempt may prove, they'l leave no means unsought,
Till their irregular Sense, spurning at Order,
Turns all into a Chaos. [IV, i, pp. 24-25,]

Peace comes to the distracted state only when the anointed ruler reclaims his throne. Surely the moral of this drama was obvious enough to readers in the year 1651 who were witnessing the efforts of the Council of State to take the place of the traditional government by kingship. They had seen leader follow leader in what must have seemed to good royalists a succession of calamities to the state. Only the year before, Fairfax had resigned and Cromwell had become captain general of an army destined soon to rule. If Tatham's play was written in 1641, as the title-page claims, the dramatist had a prophetic vision that made his play extremely timely when it was published.

The Distracted State was not the only play in which John Tatham gave dramatic expression to his hatred of the enemies of the royalist cause. In The Scots Figgaries: or, A Knot of Knaves (1652), likewise printed by W. H. for John Tey, the author heaps venom upon a race that many another loyal Englishman hated for their Presbyterianism, their opposition to the Laudian liturgy, and their alliance with Parliament in the first Civil War. Finally, in the year of the Restoration, Tatham summed up his opinion of Parliamentarians and Puritans in The Rump: Or, The Mirrour of The late Times . . . Acted Many Times with Great Applause, At the Private House in Dorset-Court (1660).

The hope that readers would make an allegorical application of Pallantus And Eudora A Tragoedie. Written by Mr. Henry Killigrew. London. Printed in the Year, 1653 doubtless inspired both author and

publisher to bring out this play, a garbled version of which had been published in 1638 as The Conspiracy. The plot is concerned with a usurper of the throne of Crete, who is finally executed; the rightful heir, Cleander, a youth of seventeen, regains his crown, and peace returns to the harried state. Killigrew had been chaplain of the King's armies in 1642, and soon thereafter became chaplain to the Duke of York. Hence, it is not surprising that his play was designed to show that usurpers receive their just deserts while anointed kings prevail over rebellion. And it is certain that he expected the reader to identify the noble Cleander with the youthful Charles II. The play abounds in speeches which sound like propaganda urging the restoration of the House of Stuart. For example, Rodia, the woman of the virtuous Eudora, daughter of the executed tyrant, counsels her to see the justice in her father's removal and the restoration of the rightful monarch:

This Last Alteration the State has suffer'd,
This wresting of the Scepter from your Name,
Together with your Fathers Life; has not
Befallen through the Impious and black
Contrivance of a few bloudie and ambitious
Lords, greedie to assume the Royall Ensignes
To themselves: but in the Name of Justice,
And the Owner, they have made this Seizure.
And there stands up a King, to Countenance,
And Justifie the Fact; a King not known
Unto the Latter Age, a Son of Him
From whom, with the like violence, but more
Injustice (pardon what I say) your Father
Formerlie did tear the Diadem. [V, i, pp. 44-45.]

The logic of this thinly disguised plea for the removal of the Parliamentary rulers and the restoration of the King was not lost, we may be

sure, upon loyal subjects who read the play.

Another example of an allegorical drama, written before the Civil Wars but given unusual timeliness in its printed version, is William Strode's The Floating Island: A Tragi-Comedy, Acted before his Majesty at Oxford, Aug. 29, 1636. By the Students of Christ-Church... Printed by T. C. for H. Twiford (1655). This play is constructed on the principle of the late moralities: all the characters are personified

abstractions and there is a definite conflict between the good and the bad, resulting in the temporary success of the latter. Specifically, the plot deals with the overthrow and deposition of King Prudentius and his counselor, Intellectus Agens, by the Passions, who crown Fancy their queen and revel it with every excess until their misdeeds overtake them and they come under the sway of Desperation, who counsels suicide. Before the whole state meets with disaster Prudentius reappears, and, aided by Intellectus Agens, regains his authority, which the Passions are glad to relinquish. Written as an allegory of the troubles that beset Charles I, even before the Civil Wars, the play must have undergone some alterations to bring it up-to-date at the time of publication, a suspicion strengthened by a disclaimer with which the publisher equipped it:

Before you read so farre as the Prologue, be pleased to consider this Tragicomedy was both written and presented above eighteen years since; and if now it seem (in Language or Plot) to fit these times, it must be by Prophesie, the Author also himselfe having been long dead. He wrote it at the instance of those who might command him; else he had scarce condescended to a Play, his serious thoughts being fill'd with notions of deeper consideration.

The editor of Strode's works conjectures that it was written at the command of Archbishop Laud as a symbol of a kingdom "distracted by the contending passions of its inhabitants, and reduced to anarchy by their dissensions." Prudentius is of course to be identified with Charles I, while Intellectus Agens in all probability was intended to represent Laud himself. Malevolo, "a Malicious contriver" with cropped ears, clearly stood for William Prynne. But the personal identification of all the abstractions was not necessary to give political significance to the main outlines of the allegory, either at the time of its performance or when it was published. Interpolations in the printed text evidently refer to contemporary events. For instance, a reference to Cromwell occurs in a discussion of state matters by Malevolo and Memor:

¹ Bertram Dobell (ed.), The Poetical Works of William Strode (London, 1907), pp. xli-xliii.

Mal. In mischeif we must use the men we hate.
You are the man I seek. Have you consider'd
Those State-projections?

Mem. Sr. we want some Lawes,

Such as were made for certain Lord Protectors.

Mal. Indeed this lawful murder is an Art
Of Excellence, and yet as easie too
For Statesmen Lawyers as Physitians.

Mem. An Art familiar in the Roman State,
As ancient too as the first Monarchy.
O I could tell you Lawes worth millions to us,
By faire intrapping of the wealthy Clergy. [III, ii, p. 180.]

Other plays lent themselves to political interpretation by readers who were surrounded by events which paralleled situations in the plots of the drama published for them. Leonard Willan's Orgula: or, The Fatall Error . . . Printed by T. M. for Stephen and Thomas Lewis (1658) has as its most important character a tyrannical ruler, Sinevero, described as "Lord Protector." Throughout the play unfavorable comment is made about the Lord Protector, and there is a large amount of rant about despots. Sir William Lower's pastoral drama, The Enchanted Lovers, printed at The Hague in 1658, has an involved plot which almost certainly was keyed to political events in England. The inhabitants of the Island of Erithrea sicken at the punishments meted out by Melissa, the princess, to the two lovers, Celia and Cleagenor; when Melissa cannot remove a spell which the lovers are under, Diana intervenes and gives the kingdom to another. It was the fashion of the moment to write fanciful, keyed romances with subject matter similar to that of Lower's play. If this exiled soldier of the King did not intend some allegorical meaning for his play, the chances are that his courtly readers found one for him. Members of the court party were without doubt pleased at the publication of Walter Mountague's The Shepheard's Paradise. A Comedy. Privately Acted before the Late King Charls by the Queen's Majesty, and Ladies of Honour, printed for John Starkey in 1659. Although no obvious political allegory could be read into this pastoral, it carried associational suggestions distasteful to some of the Puritans, for this was the play that had caused the loss of William Prynne's ears. An unsigned prefatory poem addressed to the

stationer calls attention to the noble persons who had participated in the acting of the original production; and then it adds:

But still there does remaine a stiff-neck'd Tribe Whom no Repute nor Author's name can bribe; Through specious Titles who as easily see As through a Common-wealths man's Liberty: Doubt such the least; the learned and the wise Must needs be took with deep Philosophies And darke discourse: at least, good manners sayes, They first should understand it, e're dispraise.

Diligent readers of plays must have been impressed by the constant repetition of incidental abuse of the Puritans, which they found in the drama published between 1642 and 1660. Some of this abuse is a survival in the texts of old plays; some of it appeared in new plays, in newly written interpolations in old plays, and in new prologues and

epilogues with which some of the old plays were provided.

When Moseley published William Cartwright's Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, With other Poems in 1651, he himself could not forbear a sly dig at the Puritans in the dedication of the book "To The Most Renowned And Happy Mother Of All Learning And Ingenuitie, The (Late Most Flourishing) University Of Oxford." To make clear the reference to the "late" glory of Oxford before the Puritans captured the town and purged the university of royalists, John Berkenhead, the Cavalier propagandist, added a prefatory poem, addressed to Cartwright, in which he referred to the state of learning under the Puritans:

Thy Oxford's but a Town; since she lost Thee, England's Right Eye can only weep, not see. And her bright Sister failes, Both must preferre Those two proud Dames, London and Westminster. Behold poor Britaine in its first wild Looks When it had Swords and Druids, but no Books!

Another prefatory poem, signed "Monmouth," quips on Cartwright's name and points the contrast between him and the Puritan schismatic who bore the same name:

A brief comment upon some of the satire of the Puritans in plays of this period is made by Graves, op. cit., pp. 162-66.

Yet Cartwright makes amends by his cleer Wit For all the Schismes the other Cartwright writ.

Occasionally, incidental satire of the Puritans took the form of personal allusion, a type of attack which was doubtless more frequent than is apparent to the modern reader. For example, in The Loyal Lovers, printed openly for Thomas Eglesfield in 1652 as by Major Cosmo Manuche, lately of the King's army, there is a virulent attack on the Puritan preacher and exhorter of the regicides, Hugh Peters, who is represented in the play under the name of Sodome, a notorious lecher. Since the enemies of Peters accused him of all manner of vice, natural and unnatural, it is not surprising to find this characterization given him in a play that also presents for the reader's amusement Gripeman, a committeeman. Although the scene is Amsterdam, every reader would easily identify topical allusions with situations in London. Another dramatic hit at Hugh Peters, or one of his kind, is made in Sir Aston Cokayne's Trappolin, included in his works, A Chain Of Golden Poems . . . Together with two most excellent Comedies, (viz.) The Obstinate Lady, And Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince (1658). In a dialogue between Calfshead, a Puritan, Bulflesh, a butcher, and Trappolin, a comment is made upon the hypocrisy of the Puritan:

Trap. Peace both of you. Master Puritan hold your tongue I say: will not Calfeshead be drunk Bulflesh?

Bulf. So please your Highness no, he will let a man sooner hang him then make him drunk; Besides he is a fellow of strange opinions, and hath sent his sonne to Geneva, to hear Iack Calvin preach. He stole a Surpless to make his Amorosa a Smock of; and hath writ a paultry Book against the Bishops, printed at Amsterdam in Decimo sexto. He will lie and steal without comparison; is both for Boyes as well as Queans when he hath mony: And like a true Italian Hypocrite, is for any sin or mischief but our Drinking. [Pp. 463-64.]

The springboard from which the dramatists most frequently launched an attack upon the Puritans was the law against plays. Beginning with that theme, they managed to heap a vast amount of opprobrium upon the precisians for their stupidity and hypocrisy. For

example, The Ghost Or The Woman wears the Breeches. A Comedy Written in the Year MDCXL, printed by William Bentley for Thomas Heath in 1653, concludes with an epilogue which discovers in their own sheer dulness the Puritans' hatred of plays:

'Tis done without Amen, or superstition, Popes Bull, or the Committees inquisition: What think ye now of Plays? Abominable: Or is't 'cause you want wit to unfold a Fable, Pick out the Allegory, drive the sense Where the Plot aims it: that your benevolence Should clap us, and our mouths up. Confess, confess; You would be something, and 'gainst Plays you press, To be prickt down as States-men, not because You do conceive um hurtfull, but will make Laws, To undo the Gallants pastime of the Land: Beats down because you cannot understand. Slow Readers, look upon the Roman State, Whose high built frame the stars durst emulate, And look as far as they. Ask Livie there, How many worthies grac'd her Theatre:

We Will dress our Scenes with various novelty, And teach you wit enough for eighteen pence Above the reach of the Common Councils sense.

The play itself, with its ridicule of citizens — one of whom is the butt of a fabliau-like plot in which he is made ridiculous by the girl whom he has married against her will — must have been a total offense in the eyes of Puritan readers. The "waggish Scholar in the Town," to whose authorship the prologue assigns the play, had a thorough distaste for the Presbyterian Scots and their preaching which had turned England into a country of gospellers, if we may judge by the following dialogue between Babilas and Procus:

Ba. Amongst my many Travails, 'twas my fortune To touch upon that preaching Island.

Pro. England?

Ba. 'Twas call'd so Sir, till another eat it up.

Pro. What Country, Sir?
Ba. They call it Scotland Sir.

Pro. Miraculous. A hungry Countrey sure.

Ba. Troth Sir, good store of stones and long thorn'd bushes.

Pro. The people too devour'd?

Ba. Most on um Sir,
Some few who clapt hands with the Enemy
Are sav'd, who for a badg of their conformity
Unto the Victors will, sharpened their ears,
And stead of hair, glew'd on their heads the bristles
Of nasty Swine. [IV, i, p. 30.]

Ludicrous descriptions of Puritan folly must have been a delight to play readers who had suffered and been bored under the long rule of the saints. When Jasper Mayne's Two Plaies The City Match. A Comoedy. And The Amorous Warre A Tragy-Comoedy was printed in 1658 by Henry Hall for Richard Davis, the unfavorable representation of Puritans undoubtedly helped to gain readers among the less saintly, who had long been weary of piety. Mayne delighted in making sport of precise absurdities, a variety of entertainment that in a few years was to set the Restoration stage ringing with ribald laughter. For example, in The City Match the Lady Aurelia's maid Dorcas, a "rank Puritan," is so pious that she never dresses her mistress without a sermon; she must know that curling irons are lawful; and she wants a church council called in Northamptonshire to justify her ruff. Even in her cookery she makes the "Acts and Monuments in sweet-meats"; and, not satisfied with this,

She workes religious Petticoats; for flowers She'l make Church Histories; her needle doth So sanctify my Cushionets, besides, My smock-sleeves have such holy imbroderies, And are so learned, that I feare in time All my apparell will be quoted by Some pure Instructer. Yesterday I went To see a Lady that has a Parrot, my woman While I was in discourse converted the fowle, And now it can speak nought but Knoxes workes, So theres a parrot lost. [II, ii, p. 12.]

Dull ignorance is the reason behind the Puritan animosity toward plays, observes Sir Aston Cokayne in "A Praeludium to Mr. Richard Bromes Playes," which appeared as a poem prefatory to the latter's Five New Playes . . . Printed for Humphrey Moseley, Richard Marriot,

and Thomas Dring (1653). Even though the Puritans have outlawed drama, says Cokayne, readers may still enjoy it, and he does not lose the opportunity of suggesting to the reader of his "Praeludium" that a better day is coming when "precise Ignorance" will be banished:

Not them in their full Glories yet display;
Yet we may please our selves by reading them,
Till a more Noble Act this Act condemne.
Happy will that day be, which will advance
This Land from durt of precise Ignorance;
Distinguish Morall Virtue, and Rich Wit,
And gracefull Action, from an unfit
Parenthesis of Coughs, and Hums, and Haes,
Threshing of Cushions, and Tautologies.
Then the dull Zelots shall give way, and flye,
Or be converted by bright Poesie.
Apollo may enlighten them, or else,
In Scottish Grots they may conceale themselves.

A hint that the government was looking with greater leniency upon dramatic poetry is given by Alexander Brome in his verses prefatory to the same work. Although he declares that "the Stern Poet" had been suppressed because "hee'd not be brib'd To silence, nor complyance," he makes an observation which suggests that Cromwell was inclined to be favorable to dramatic poets:

But now new Stars shine forth, and do pretend, Wit shall be cherisht, and Poets finde a Friend. This makes these sleeping Poems now creep forth, As innocent of wrong, as full of worth. Where Vice, and Vanity, are laught to scorn, And unstain'd Vertue to the Skies is born. May this Work prove successefull, and we finde Those men, that now are Pow'rfull, to be kinde! And give encouragement to Wit, and Worth, 'That things of Weight may come with boldnesse forth! For, to the being of a happy State, Pleasure, and Profit must Incorporate. And if we in our Bellies place our sence, 'Twixt Beasts, and us, pray what's the difference? Poets are the Custodes of our Fame,

Were't not for Homer, where's Achilles Name? Let Souldiers then protect, while Poets praise; Since that, which Crownes the Browes of Both, is Baies.

A drastic law against printing had been passed on January 7, 1653,2 some time before the publication of these plays, but it is apparent that Alexander Brome already believed that there was hope that it would be relaxed. If Puritan censors read Richard Brome's plays, which Alexander hoped would meet with the approval of the authorities, they must have observed many passages that ridiculed their kind.

Another suggestion that dramatic poetry might now dare emerge from hiding is contained in a poem signed by a certain T. C., which

prefaced The Queen, Or The Excellency Of Her Sex (1653):

Yet the more Generous race of men revives This Lamp of Knowledge, and like Primitives In Caves, fearless of Martyrdom, rehearse The almost breathless, now, Dramatick verse.

T. C. goes on to point out that there is an obligation to the next generation to preserve the "wit" of the present age, and he observes trenchantly that, if those in authority want to prove that true liberty exists, dramatic poetry must be free:

How in the next age will our Youth lament The loss of wit, condem'd to banishment. Wit that the duller rout despise, 'cause they Miss it in what their Zealous Priests display: For Priests in melancholy Zeal admit Onely a grave formality for wit; And would have those that govern us comply And cherish their fallacious tyranny. But wherein States can no advantage gain, They harmless mirth improperly restrain; Since men cannot be naturally call'd free, If Rulers claim more then securitie. How happens then this rigour o're the Stage In this restor'd, free, and licentious age?

¹ "Upon the Ingenious Comedies of Mr. Richard Brome," sigs. A3^v-A4.
² Cf. Rollins, "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," op. cit., pp. 311-12.

And relatively free dramatic poetry actually was, so far as publication went, from 1653 onward, despite a censorship that might have suppressed, if it had chosen to do so, plays containing satirical matter. But the fires of fanaticism were already beginning to burn lower as the government of Cromwell busied itself with matters of greater moment than the sinfulness of plays. Soon Sir William Davenant would be producing something that passed for plays under the guise of musical shows in which he adroitly threw a sop to the government, as with the anti-Spanish propaganda of *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, published in 1658. But that story has no place in a discussion of the read-

ing of plays during the period of revolution.

No quantitative measure of the effect of any form of literature upon an age is possible, but we may be sure that the constant reading of drama, which was almost entirely written from the royalist point of view, had a considerable influence upon that portion of the population influenced at all by polite literature. While controversial and pious reading for a time took the eye of some of the people, the interest in belles lettres remained almost as strong as ever. Even during the stress of civil war, poetry, romance, and drama continued to be published and remained the stock in trade of the better booksellers. Not least important, as I have tried to show, was the drama, which found an audience perhaps as large as the acted plays had ever reached. Loaded with royalistic, anti-Puritan sentiment, these plays could not help strengthening the beliefs and prejudices of readers already favoring a return to the old order. Thus constantly heaping ridicule upon the absurdities of Puritanism and incessantly repeating the virtues of royalty, printed plays made a modest though not to be despised contribution to the creation of sentiment in favor of the Restoration of the Stuarts. If it was wise for the Puritans to try to close the theaters, it was folly to permit the iniquitous drama to be read by any loiterer in Paul's Churchyard who chose to risk sixpence or less upon a printed play. And the evidence shows that purchasers were numerous enough to create a constant demand for a drama whose audience never failed, albeit the effects came through the printed page rather than the stage.

The focusing of attention upon the reading of plays, a natural result of the prohibition of acting, tended to increase the prestige of

drama as literature. When Ben Jonson printed his plays in 1616 and entitled them Works, he was greeted with scoffing by all his contemporaries, who snorted that only the mountainous conceit of a Jonson would consider plays worthy to be dignified by such a title. But in the years that followed, other dramatists took cognizance of the press and were not ill-pleased to see their works bought and read as literature. Play reading had become so well established during the first four decades of the seventeenth century that, when Parliament made theatrical performances illegal, it was only natural that lovers of drama should resort to the booksellers for diverting plays. By that time, drama had come to occupy a literary position as honorable as that held by fashionable romances and non-dramatic poetry. The long course in drama reading which the Puritan revolution unwittingly induced was merely one more influence to strengthen the position of plays as good literature.

A Tract Long Attributed to Milton

By P. S. HAVENS

In SEARCHING through the libraries of Britain to complete the roster of Milton's prose works, David Masson discovered among the Thomason Tracts in the British Museum a pamphlet entitled, A Letter Written To a Gentleman in the Country, touching the Dissolution of the late Parliament, And The Reasons Therof. . . . London, Printed by F. Leach, for Richard Baddeley at his Shop within the Middle Temple Gate 1653. The tract is dated May 3, 1653, is signed "N. LL:", but bears on the title-page, in Thomason's hand, the words "by Mr. John Milton." Masson very justly refused to accept this attribution as definitive evidence of Milton's authorship; but upon examining the tract he found, not only that its tone and style were Miltonic, that certain remarks, allusions, and opinions were such as Milton might have set forth, but also that the concluding paragraph contained a reference to the author's "infirmity . . . which confin'd me to my Chamber":

'Tis true, great Births are hard in the Labour, and many Glorious men have been cut out of the Womb, Therefore wonder not, if the account that they may give you be slow, or possibly slower than you expect. I am no Member of their Councills and by a late infirmity lesse able to attend them, yet if I can believe any thing; or understand Men when they make the clearest professions, they intend all noble things, both as to the glory of our good God, the making happy of this poor Nation, setling the Liberties of it, and reducing of us into one mind, and one way. But these are not only wishes of mine, but hopes, and certain expectancies, and I believe they will convince these men to be lyars that speak against them. But now I think I have put you to all the tryalls of your patience, which if my infirmity had

For Masson's discussion of the tract, see his *The Life of John Milton*, IV (London, 1877), 519-23. Cf. Hugh C. H. Candy, "Milton, N.LL, and Sir Tho. Urquhart," *The Library*, N.S., XIV, 470-76.

not been, which confin'd me to my Chamber, I could not have done, but I rely so much on your Candor, and I believe you think so well of my veracity, as I want not the impudence to affirm my self (however you take it)

Your affectionate Servant

N. LL:

London May 3. 1653.

"Who could this be but Milton?" asks Masson. "To be sure, the anonymous was not in Milton's way; but the anonymity here is more like a printer's freak than an author's disguise. . . . In short I believe

that Thomason is in this case quite right."

But Sir Charles Firth, in a letter to the Athenaeum of February 6, 1897, finds reason to suspect that Thomason and Masson are wrong. He states that the tract is by John Hall, of Durham (1627-56), and that Hall was employed by the Council of State, on May 14, 1649, to write pamphlets in behalf of the Commonwealth. He cites two passages from different sources in substantiation of his claim. The first is an anonymous passage from a news-letter of the time, which speaks of John Hall as the author of the Letter. The second is a quotation, attributing the Letter to Hall, from the biography of Hall prefixed by John Davies, of Kidwelly, to Hall's posthumously printed translation entitled, Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras (1657). Finally, Firth suggests that the letters "N. LL:" are equivalent to "Joh[n] Ha[ll]" — a signature that Hall had used in an earlier pamphlet, A True Account and Character of the Times, Historically and Politically Drawne by a Gentleman to Give Satisfaction to a Friend in the Countrey (1647).

It is the belief of the present writer that Masson is wrong and Firth's arguments can be sustained, for new and conclusive evidence is at hand to prove Hall's authorship of the *Letter*. Through the late Professor George Saintsbury's partial reprint of his poems, John Hall is reasonably well known as a minor poet of the Caroline period,² but little or nothing has been written about his career as a pamphleteer

for the Commonwealth.

¹ Bodleian Library, Clarendon MSS, news-letter, May 27, 1653. ² See *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, II (Oxford, 1906).

Hall went up to Cambridge in the winter of 1645-46, a few years older than most of his associates at St. John's, and within a twelvemonth dazzled the university by publishing a volume of essays and a volume of poems. He left Cambridge in May, 1647, to enter Gray's Inn; but he was nearly penniless and therefore was willing to accept a small salary from Lilly, the astrologer (at that time in the thick of his controversy with his astrologer-rival, Wharton), to conduct Mercurius Britannicus 2 as a pro-Commonwealth counterblast to Wharton's royalist Mercurius Elencticus. Through Lilly, whose influence and acquaintance in London were considerable, Hall met two men of some importance in Puritan circles: Frost, who had been secretary to the Committee at Derby House and was soon to become secretary to the Council of State; and Bulstrode Whitelocke. Indeed, one of Lilly's inducements to Hall to assist him with Mercurius Britannicus was the promise to try to get Hall a pension from the Council, as a writer in defense of Parliament. He was successful; and on May 14, 1649, it was voted that Hall "be employed at 100l. a year, with assurance of further care, for answering pamphlets against the commonwealth, and 301. to be advanced him on signing the test." 3

So well did Hall perform his new duties that, from June until September of 1650, he was commissioned to accompany Cromwell on his invasion of Scotland, to act as "observer" for the official Mercurius Politicus, which Hall and Marchamont Nedham conducted, independently until the end of 1650, and under the supervision of Milton from 1651 to 1653. However, Hall only scraped a meager living with his pen for three years: because his dissipated and irregular life, and consequent illness, hindered his work, and because the payment of his salary was dependent upon the amount of writing he did for his employers. Thus, we find him in straitened circumstances, weak, often bedridden, by the winter of 1652–53. His frequent illnesses so reduced his contributions to Mercurius Politicus that, in 1653, Nedham was forced to undertake the writing of the paper largely without Hall's aid.

Horae Vacivae, Or, Essays (London, 1646); Poems (Cambridge, 1646).

² There were thirteen numbers, from May 16 to August 16, 1648. For a none-too-flattering account of Hall's part in seventeenth-century journalism, see *Mercurius Elencticus*, Nos. 27–30 (May 24–June 21, 1648).

³ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1649-1650, p. 139 (May 14, 1649).

Still, he did what he could to keep himself from starving. In November, 1651, when a Dutch embassy was in London to try to improve the embittered relations with England, he republished the famous Amboyna tracts of 1624 and 1632, with a dedication to Cromwell and comments so phrased as to discredit the Dutch and feed English animosities. The embassy returned without a treaty, and the tract was called a "seasonable service" by Parliament. A year later he published (this time with a dedication to Whitelocke) a translation entitled, Hepl thous or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence, still

considered by many the best English rendering of the work.

But the Council did not pay money for works of erudition. There were matters of graver concern. Hall saw that his salary, ever fitful, would cease altogether unless he gave evidence that he was earning it. The expulsion of the Rump provided a fitting opportunity. Therefore, in spite of the illness that confined him to his chamber in Gray's Inn, he composed the Letter Written to a Gentleman in the Country, and, as Firth has shown, "waited on his Excellency for his reward." But the reward did not come until the next autumn, after Hall had written another pamphlet; and only once again did he draw part of his salary. His illnesses became so numerous, and his power to work so gravely reduced, that on April 17, 1655, the salary was stopped completely.

So weak was he in the spring of 1655 that he left London and placed himself under medical care at St. Albans, where his spirits were cheered but his health mended little. It was here that he translated Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras; but he did not live to see the work published. On receiving news of his father's fatal illness,

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1653-1654, p. 173 (Sept. 29, 1653): "25l. to be paid to John Hall as part of his pension of 100l. a year, and a warrant to be issued therefor on Council's contingencies; Mr. Frost to state his account of what is due to him for arrears."

² Warrants and passports from Oliver Cromwell in 1654 (Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS A328, p. 107): "Oliver P. These are to wit, and require you out of such moneyes as are, or shall come to your hands for the use of the Councell to pay to Mr. John Hall the sume of Fiftie poundes being for halfe a Yeares Salarie due unto him on the 15th of this instant May. Of which you are not to faile, and for which this shalbe your sufficient Warrant Given At Whitehall this 31th day of May, 1654."

³ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655, p. 127 (Apr. 17, 1655): "Order on resuming the debate on the report from the Committee on the Establishment of the Council's Contingencies, . . . That the following salaries be taken away: — . . . John Hall, 1001."

he summoned up his strength and traveled north to Durham, where he died on August 1, 1656. Wood attributes to Hobbes the opinion that, had not Hall's "debauches and intemperance diverted him from the more serious studies, he had made an extraordinary person; for no

man had ever done so great things at his age." 1

We may, then, accept Firth's first quotation, from the news-letter, as a statement made in good faith. Certainly there are no grounds for believing that the writer, though anonymous, has falsely attributed the tract to Hall. The author of Firth's second quotation, John Davies, of Kidwelly, was Hall's most intimate friend at St. John's. The friendship continued unbroken, and when Hall hurried north in 1655 it was Davies who collected the confused manuscript of the translation of *Hierocles* and published it posthumously, adding a biographical sketch of the translator. As Davies' account has been found accurate throughout, there is no reason whatever to suspect that he has untruthfully stated that the tract is by John Hall. Nor is there any need to accept Masson's ingenious explanation of the signature "N. LL:" as composed of the last letters of the names Milton and Marvell, for Hall had used the signature once before.

But it was chiefly because of Thomason's note on the title-page, "by M. John Milton," because of the Miltonic tone of the views in the tract, and because of the mention of an "infirmity," that Masson attributed the pamphlet to Milton. There are two copies of the Letter in the Huntington Library,2 and from one of them comes an interesting bit of new evidence. It bears on the title-page, in a seventeenth-century hand, the words "by Jon Hall," and, beneath the signature "N. LL:" at the end, the words "John Hall. Dunelmens.|". The difference between Thomason's note and these jottings is only that in one case we know the identity of the writer and in the other we do not; but, to quote Masson himself, "in several other cases Thomason was led by rumour to credit Milton with tracts which were not really his." The fact that the views expressed in the pamphlet are similar to Milton's on the same subject is wholly natural, since both Milton and Hall were engaged in a common enterprise, the defense of Cromwell. As for the "infirmity," we have already seen that Hall was ill some time

¹ Athenae Oxonienses, II (London, 1815), 460.

² The accession numbers are 28408 and 57313.

before May, 1653. This reference, then, is to the illness which led to his death three years later. Furthermore, though Hall was "no Member of their [i. e., Parliamentary] Councills," he was at that time still officially connected with Mercurius Politicus — an assistant who, except for his "infirmity," would have met with Nedham, and perhaps Milton, to decide what would be written for the next issue.

Here is evidence enough to prove that Hall, not Milton, wrote the Letter. Two other points confirm the authorship. One is the style of the tract. It is exactly the style of Hall's other pamphlets, not only in manner of presentation, but also in the recurrence of certain words and figures that were favorites with him. The other is a reference to Rabelais. Speaking of the "manner of Government by the last Parliament," Hall writes thus:

What these men have done as to *Establishment* and *Liberty*, I am to confesse they have altered the Titles of *Writs*, they have told us we have a *Commonwealth*, but for any *essential* fruits thereof, a man may (*drolling*) say, they have cut off the head of a *King*, and set a *Commonwealth* upon his shoulders, which like *Epistemon* in *Rabelais* (who was beheaded in a fight) are so finely *sewed* together, that they return out of *Hel*, and tell things that they did there.

Anyone, of course, might have referred to Rabelais; but it is noteworthy that Hall was a friend of Sir Thomas Urquhart and had written the only commendatory poem ¹ prefixed to the latter's translation of the first book of Rabelais, issued in the same year, 1653. Hall might well have had Rabelais fresh in his mind when he wrote the tract.

¹ Under the pseudonym of J. de la Salle.

American Prose Style: 1700-1770

By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

N 1700 the Rev. Cotton Mather sent to England that huge mass of manuscript which, after unauthorized changes by the printer, was published in 1702 as the Magnalia Christi Americana. Because the manuscript was completed in 1700, it may be considered a seventeenth-century document; and I quote a passage from the "General Introduction" as an example of what New England practice in literary style had achieved by the year of Dryden's death:

I cannot say, whether the Style, wherein this Church-History is written, will please the Modern Criticks: But if I seem to have used ἀπλουστάτη συντάξει $\gamma \rho \alpha \phi \hat{\eta}$ s, a Simple, Submiss, Humble Style, 'tis the same that Eusebius affirms to have been used by Hegesippus, who, as far as we understand, was the first Author (after Luke) that ever composed an entire Body of Ecclesiastical History, which he divided into Five Books, and Entitled, ὑπομνήματα των εκκλησιαστικών πράξεων. Whereas others, it may be, will reckon the Style Embellished with too much of Ornament, by the multiplied References to other and former Concerns, closely couch'd, for the Observation of the Attentive, in almost every Paragraph; but I must confess, that I am of his mind who said, Sicuti sal modice cibis aspersus Condit, & gratiam saporis addit, ita si paulum Antiquitatis admiscueris, Oratio fit venustior. And I have seldom seen that Way of Writing faulted, but by those, who, for a certain odd Reason, sometimes find fault, That the Grapes are not ripe. These Embellishments (of which yet I only - Veniam pro laude peto) are not the puerile Spoils of Polyanthea's; but I should have asserted them to be as choice Flowers as most that occur in Ancient or Modern Writings, almost unavoidably putting themselves into the Authors Hand, while about his Work, if those words of Ambrose had not a little frightened me, as well as they did Baronius, Unumquemque Fallunt sua scripta. I observed that Learned Men have been so terrified by the Reproaches of Pedantry, which little Smatterers at Reading and Learning have, by their Quoting Humours

¹ See Kenneth B. Murdock, Selections from Cotton Mather (New York, 1926), Introduction, pp. xli-xlii.

brought upon themselves, that, for to avoid all Approaches towards that which those Feeble Creatures have gone to imitate, the best way of Writing has been most injuriously deserted. But what shall we say? The Best way of Writing, under Heaven, shall be the Worst, when *Erasmus* his Monosyllable Tyrant will have it so! ¹

Despite Mather's reference to a "Simple, Submiss, Humble Style," most readers will regard this passage as learned and even pedantic. The thoroughly seventeenth-century flavor of the paragraph is evident; the profusion of capital letters, italic type, and Greek and Latin quotations, the learned references to Eusebius, Hegesippus, Baronius, and the rest, the wordplay on polyanthea and flower, the defense of learned citations, and the reference to "Erasmus his Monosyllable Tyrant"—all these devices suggest the manner of the prose leviathans from before the flood. From Cotton Mather's point of view, the Magnalia was his diploma piece to posterity.

Let me now quote from another, and more familiar, piece of American prose, written seventy-one years after Cotton Mather sent his bulky manuscript to London. The passage is from Franklin's *Autobiography* as reprinted by Bigelow, and is one of the most familiar in

that classic work:

About this time I met with an odd volume of the Spectator. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, try'd to compleat the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my Spectator with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that. variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the

I have followed Murdock's text, ibid., pp. 18-19.

tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collections of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and compleat the paper. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of thoughts. By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered my faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious.¹

With Franklin it is obvious we are in the full tide of the best eighteenth-century prose. Truly, this is an astonishing change from the Magnalia, a change the more remarkable when one remembers that it took place in less than three-quarters of a century, under the conditions of American provincial life — the relative lack of general education, the want of books and periodical literature, the distance from London, and the fact that there was in eighteenth-century America no assured place for a professional literary man. So remarkable a revolution in style requires more detailed explanation than the happy accident of an ambitious young printer finding an odd volume of the Spectator. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to trace certain aspects of the development of prose style in the American colonies in the period between Cotton Mather and Benjamin Franklin. The material offered in evidence is largely drawn from the Wilberforce Eames collection of pamphlets in the Huntington Library.²

In one sense the change is easy to explain. The American colonies were part of the eighteenth-century world. They were part of the literary empire of Great Britain; and naturally, as intercourse between the two continents expanded, as the colonial booksellers imported more and more books, the change in prose style in London would have its effect in America. We know that the periodical essays which multiplied with the expansion of the colonial press were almost invariably

The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1887-88), I, 47-49.

² This collection is briefly described in *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 1 (May, 1931), p. 75. In addition to the Eames collection this article draws upon other relevant material in the Huntington Library and in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor.

modeled upon the *Spectator* and kindred works. We know that books and pamphlets by colonial authors were sometimes first printed in the mother country, and often reprinted there; whence it follows that, to be effective at all, the colonial author would have to write within the

canons of the polite world of English letters.

But let us assume for a moment a condition contrary to fact. Let us suppose that American intellectual life had been cut off from Europe. Let us suppose it to have remained more or less static, so that the attitude of mind commonly associated with the Mathers persisted throughout our colonial history. The American author would not then have been able to address the eighteenth-century British public in its own terms unless he could master what would have been from his point of view a foreign and artificial idiom. If one can imagine Robert Burton trying to write a pamphlet which would please the taste of Lord Chesterfield, one can see how painful the situation might have been. Of course, nothing of the kind took place. American prose developed on its own line, strongly influenced, of course, by British theory and practice; and it is to certain elements in this development that we now turn.

Styles of expression do not customarily change except in response to changing demands upon language, due to the necessity of expressing new ideas and new aesthetic ideals. The researches of scholars have made us aware of the great debate over the structure of prose in seventeenth-century England. This debate was a function of new artistic ideals and of the rise of a new scientific ideology. Properly to trace the change in colonial prose one should begin by tracing the rise of new intellectual forces in the colonies; but, since to do this would require a detailed essay on the history of colonial culture, one can at this time only indicate certain facets of the changing theories. And, putting aside many really eloquent passages in seventeenth-century American prose, I shall assume that the movement of progress is the movement in the direction of plainness and lucidity — in the direction which Franklin represents.

Those who think of the colonial sermon as mainly a pedantic exercise in casuistry may be surprised to learn that one of the powerful forces making for the new prose in America was the colonial pulpit itself. Those, however, who are familiar with the work of Mitchell and

Miss Richardson will be interested to discover that the movement for simplicity in the British pulpit is paralleled in America.2 The movement of lucidity was a revolt from two sorts of encumbrances upon "plain teaching": one being learned quotation, pedantic discussion, and superfluous erudition, and the other being ornate rhetoric, euphuism, "witty" preaching, and fantastic style. In Great Britain the movement of lucidity was complicated by the struggle between Ciceronian and Senecan prose, sectarian differences carried into styles of preaching, and the struggle between theology and the "new" science. Fortunately for the investigator, the American situation was simpler. Cotton Mather seems to have been the only important colonial aware of the difference between Ciceronian and Senecan prose; sectarian differences play little part in the development of a simpler preaching style in the colonies; and we shall do little injustice to the facts if we assume that the American problem was to create from the general syntactical complexities and diffuse ornament of seventeenthcentury prose the plain and lucid manner of writing which distinguishes the style of the great Revolutionary leaders.

Neglecting other points of difference, we may say that Calvinism demanded a learned ministry, and that, in the selection from Cotton Mather already given, one sees the learned manner in America at its best — or worst. The first point to note is that pressure was soon

¹ W. Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A Study of its Literary Aspects (London and New York, 1932); Caroline Francis Richardson, English Preachers and Preaching, 1640–1670: A Secular Study (London, 1928).

² Among the many passages quoted by these authorities, I cite the following from Richard Baxter as typical: "Ministers, therefore, must be observant of the Case of their Flocks, that they may know what is most necessary for them, both for Matter and for Manner. And usually Matter is first to be regarded, as being of more Concernment than the Manner. . . . It is commonly Empty Ignorant Men that want the Matter and Substance of True Learning, that are over Curious and Sollicitous about Words and Ornaments, when the Ancient, Experienced, most Learned Men, abound in Substantial Verities, usually delivered in the plainest Dress. . . . All our Teaching must be as Plain and Evident as we can make it. . . He that would be understood must speak to the Capacity of his Hearers, and make it his Business to make himself understood. Truth loves the Light, and is most Beautiful when most naked. It's a Sign of an envious Enemy to hide the Truth; and a Sign of an Hypocrite to do this under pretence of Revealing it: And therefore painted obscure Sermons (like the Painted Glass in the Windows that keep out the Light) are two [sic] oft the Marks of painted Hypocrites. If you would not teach Men, what do you in the Pulpit? If you would, why do you not speak so as to be understood?" This was written about 1655. See Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

brought to bear upon the colonial divine to distinguish between the ornate scholasticism with which he might properly address his learned peers, and the perspicuous and simple language in which he was expected to "teach." We may illustrate from Increase Mather. In 1674 he published a group of sermons entitled *Some Important Truths about Conversion*. The famous John Owen contributed a preface, in which he said that

Whatever else the Author aimed at, it is evident that plainness, perspicuity, gravity in delivering the Truth, were continually in his eye; nor hath he come short of attaining his Design. . . . he hath in this Discourse abandoned all Additional Ornaments whatever.

Of his father's preaching Cotton Mather said in the Parentator:

He much despised what they call *Quaintness*, . . . Though he were such a *Scholar*, yet his *Learning* hindred not his Condescension to the Lowest and Meanest Capacity: aiming to shoot not over the *Heads*, but into the *Hearts*, of the Hearers. He was very careful to be *understood*, and *concealed* every other *Art*, that he might Pursue and Practise that one *Art* of *Being Intelligible*.²

Both quotations point to the ideal of plainness and simplicity; and that they are not due merely to ministerial propaganda or filial piety, that the ideal is Increase Mather's own, is evident from his A Call from Heaven To the Present and Succeeding Generations (Boston, 1679), in the preface to which the elder Mather says:

As for the ensuing Discourse, if the Reader expect any thing rare, or curious therein, he will find himself disappointed. I neither can if I would, nor am I willing to doe what I can, in such a way. I would rather let the world see, that I am of Luthers judgement, who judged him the ablest Preacher, qui pueriliter, trivialiter, populariter, simplicissime docet. And it is a comfort to think, that such Simple Discourses, which they that account themselves the Wits of the World, look upon as Babling, will either be blessed by Christ

¹ London, 1674. This book I consulted in the private library of Mr. William G. Mather, of Cleveland, Ohio, who kindly gave me permission to use his remarkable collection of Matheriana.

² Parentator (Boston, 1724), p. 215.

for the Conversion and Edification of Souls, or turn for a Testimony to the Speaker.

But why, it may be asked, with this paternal precept before him, did Cotton Mather write the preface to the *Magnalia* as he did? The younger Mather consciously practised two distinct prose styles, one which he greatly admired and thought worthy as the expression of his culture, and one which the conditions of "teaching" compelled him to adopt. He regretted, says his biographer and kinsman, the Rev. Samuel Mather, that

those Composures he wrote with the least Trouble and Care, found a Passage into the World, while many of his elaborate Composures lay by him.²

But, though he regretted the fact, he wrote at times according to the demands of the day. The prose style of the "Political Fables" is like that of Franklin. Many pages of the *Magnalia* are relatively simple and straightforward. In one of his works he acknowledges that the best preacher is he who

accommodates the Truths of the Gospel, unto his Hearers, that even the Little Children may mind them when they hear them, and grow sensible of them.³

He could, on occasion, refer contemptuously to those "Insipid" passages "which the Funeral Orations on the Professors in the Universities are commonly Stuffed withal." ⁴ When he wrote this plain kind of prose, its note is commonly moral earnestness; and the conflict between his desire to do good and his desire in such "Composures" to exhibit all his skill as a penman, is amusingly shown in a passage from the Essays to Do Good:

From "To the Reader" in that pamphlet.

² Samuel Mather, The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D.D. & F.R.S. Late Pastor of the North Church in Boston. Who Died, Feb. 13. 1727, 8 (Boston, 1729), p. 72.

³ The A, B, C. of Religion. Lessons Relating to the Fear of God, Fitted unto the Youngest & Lowest Capacities. And Children Suitably instructed in the Maxims of Religion (Boston, 1713), p. 4.

⁴ Duodecennium Luctuosum. The History of a Long War With Indian Salvages, . . . From the Year, 1702. To the Year, 1714 (Boston, 1714), p. 12.

I don't find that I have spent so many Weeks in Composing the Book, as Descartes, tho' a Profound Geometrician, declares he spent in Studying the Solution of one Geometrical Question. Yet the Composure is grown beyond what I desired it should have done; . . . Tis a Vanity in Writers, to Complement the Readers, with a, Sorry 'tis no better. Instead of that, I freely tell my Readers, I have Written what is not unworthy of their Perusal. If I did not Think so, truly, I would not Publish it."

As an artist and a scholar, however, Cotton Mather preferred the ornate style. Speaking of his ancestor, John Cotton, he says admiringly that he was

One whose Consecration was the Filling of His Hand, and whose Composures all Smelt of the Lamp; 2

and he remembered with pleasure the "copious and florid Oration" which Urian Oakes delivered at Mather's college commencement. Consequently, Mather was perpetually running counter to the current of his time, and so putting his biographers in a difficult position. A year after the great man's death, the Rev. Samuel Mather wrote that

we need not wonder to find in his Books so many learned Allusions and References; for it is next to impossible, that a Man should keep from writing learnedly, and as if he were acquainted with Author's and their Sentiments, when his Mind is stored with their various Ideas and Images, and he is a compleat Owner of them.

Family pride compelled the Rev. Samuel to enter a defense of this aspect of his kinsman's style:

There are indeed a Set of Witlings, who for Fear of Pedantry, and hurting a Period, would not quote a Greek or Latin Sentence, however weighty and pregnant it may be; but, instead of the massy Sense in the Expressions of others, chuse their own easy Flow of Words, and gliding Vacuity of Tho't.

He describes Mather's treatises as "stuck with Jewels," though "not burthen'd with them: . . . a strong & easy Splendor." But even family

¹ Bonifacius. An Essay Upon the Good, that is to be Devised and Designed, by those Who Desire to Answer the Great End of Life, and to Do Good While they Live (Boston, 1710), p. xv.

² Just Commemorations. The Death of Good Men, Considered; and The Characters of Some who have lately Died in the Service of the Churches, Exhibited (Boston [1715]), p. 34.

³ Ibid., p. ii. ⁴ Samuel Mather, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

pride could not prevent the biographer from hinting that there might be "a Fault in endeavouring and straining for far fetch'd, and dear bought Hints, and cramming a Discourse with them." This reluctant

criticism is evidence how far the revolution in taste had gone.

Two years before his death Cotton Mather published his Manuductio ad Ministerium, a book of directions for the young minister. In this occurs a digression on prose style, the full implications of which have not, I think, been pointed out. The gist of the passage lies in Mather's attempt to reconcile opposites: to fuse the later demand for a plain and easy style with his own belief that the way of the artist in prose is the older manner of the seventeenth century. He was, I think, attempting to find a golden mean between the manner of the new century, which he rather disliked, and the manner of the old century, which his contemporaries were reluctant to continue. Accordingly, one finds him advising the young preacher to study French because

There is no Man who has the *French Tongue*, but ordinarily he speaks the neater *English* for it;

and directing the candidate:

Instead of Squandering away your Time, on the RHETORIC, whereof no doubt, you tho't, your *Dugard* ² gave you enough at School; . . . My Advice to you, is, That you observe the Flowers and Airs of such *Writings*, as are most in Reputation for their *Elegancy*.

Like Swift, he repudiates textbooks in logic because "The Power and Process of *Reason* is *Natural* to the Soul of Man"; and the direction to try one's hand at a (verse) epigram to "polish your *Style*" is like Franklin's turning prose into verse for the same purpose.³ The notes

^{*} Ibid. The Rev. Samuel Mather was not without the family failing. Note the "quaintness" in this passage from his sermon on the deceased: "First; I shall give some Account of his Departure. Indeed it was not as Elijah's, who, instead of a cold Sweat, was fill'd with inexpressible Warmth and immortal Vigour; instead of a Ratling in the Throat was singing with Transport; and instead of the pale Image of Death had a never-fading Bloom on his Countenance." (The Departure and Character of Elijah Considered and Improved. A Sermon After the Decease of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather [Boston, 1728], p. 13.)

² This was the Elementa Rhetorices of William Dugard.

³ Manuductio ad Ministerium (Boston, 1726), pp. 32, 34, 35, 42. When writing verse, "let not the Circaean Cup intoxicate you." (P. 42.) The need of a learned ministry is to be met by a sound knowledge of Latin, enough Greek for theological study, and Hebrew — to

of elegance and rationalism in this part of the program are, so to speak, eighteenth-century; and Mather's directions so far make for the new

prose.

But the discussion of style itself is soon seen to waver between the two ideals; and Mather's desire is clearly to save as much of the older elaborate and learned manner as he can, and at the same time satisfy the newer ideals:

There has been a deal of ado about a STYLE; So much, that I must offer you my Sentiments upon it. There is a Way of Writing, wherein the Author endeavours, that the Reader may have something to the Purpose in every Paragraph. There is not only a Vigour sensible in every Sentence, but the Paragraph is embellished with Profitable References, even to something beyond what is directly spoken. Formal and Painful Quotations are not studied; yet all that could be learnt from them is insinuated. The Writer pretends not unto Reading, yet he could not have writ as he does if he had not Read very much in his Time; and his Composures are not only a Cloth of Gold, but also stuck with as many Jewels, as the Gown of a Russian Embassador.¹

Vigor in the sentences and something to the purpose in every paragraph are ideals to which Franklin would subscribe, and the art that insinuates information is certainly not to be despised. But Mather goes on to strike out at modern critics of the older style:

This Way of Writing has been decried by many, and is at this Day more than ever so, for the same Reason, that in the old Story, the Grapes were decried, That they were not Ripe. A Lazy, Ignorant, Conceited Sett of Authors, would perswade the whole Tribe, to lay aside that Way of Writing, for the same Reason that one would have perswaded his Brethren to part with the Encumbrance of their Bushy Tails. But however Fashion and Humour may prevail, they must not think that the Club at their Coffee-House is, All the World; but there will always be those, who will in this Case

1 Ibid., p. 44. Cf. the passage (quoted above) in which Samuel Mather describes Cotton

Mather's style as "stuck with Jewels."

be learned in the time the young candidate might otherwise spend smoking! After Hebrew, Syriac will be easy. (Pp. 28-29, 30.) Much time is to be spent in the study of natural philosophy, which displays God in his works: "Be sure, The Experimental Philosophy is that, in which alone your Mind can be at all established." (P. 50.) History and music (in which you are to "Do as you please"), and the formation of a small learned society, or sodality, are other important items. (Pp. 57, 72 ff.)

be governed by *Indisputable Reason*: And who will think, that the real Excellency of a Book will never ly in saying of little; That the less one has for his Money in a Book, 'tis really the more Valuable for it; and that the less one is instructed in a Book, and the more of Superfluous Margin, and Superficial Harangue, and the less of Substantial Matter one has in it, the more tis to be accounted of.

He carries the war into Africa in the following passage:

The Blades that set up for Criticks, I know not who constituted or commission'd 'em! — they appear to me, for the most part as Contemptible, as they are a Supercilious Generation. For indeed no Two of them have the same Style; . . . But while each of them, conceitedly enough, sets up for the Standard of Perfection, we are entirely at a Loss which Fire to follow. Nor can you easily find any one thing wherein they agree for their Style, except perhaps a perpetual Care to give as Jejune and Empty Pages, without such Touches of Erudition . . . as may make the Discourses less Tedious, and more Enriching, to the Mind of him that peruses them.

So far Mather seems to defend the older manner, but now he returns to an awareness of new standards, and the necessity of yielding something to them:

Every Man will have his own Style, which will distinguish him as much as his Gate: And if you can attain to that which I have newly described, but always writing so as to give an Easy Conveyance unto your Idea's, I would not have you by any Scourging be driven out of your Gate, . . . since every Man will have his own Style, I would pray, that we may learn to treat one another with mutual Civilities, and Condescensions, and handsomely indulge one another in this, as Gentlemen do in other Matters.¹

In other words, if the moderns argue that every man should follow his natural "Gate" in choosing a style, Mather sees no reason why the same indulgence should not be extended to him!

The Manuductio contains, I think, the most interesting single passage on style in eighteenth-century America before Franklin's Autobiography. It reveals Mather as a transition figure who sought to unite the ideal of "Easy Conveyance" of ideas with the ideal of "Substantial"

¹ Ibid., pp. 44-47. The latter part of this passage contains Mather's discussion of Senecan and Ciceronian styles.

Matter" bejeweled like "the Gown of a Russian Embassador." But it was a compromise which could not be successful; and the necessity of instructing young ministers how to teach the people was, ironically enough, the very force which defeated it. Samuel Mather noted in 1729 that Cotton Mather

did not make his Sentences or Periods too extended for the [shorthand] Writers to take them readily, or for the Hearers readily and easily to have the sence of them,¹

when he preached; but the Reverend Thomas Prince was probably nearer the truth when he remarked that Cotton Mather's "Style... was something singular, and not so agreable to the Gust of the Age," though he hastened to add that "like his manner of speaking, it was very emphatical." At any rate, a long line of ordination sermons insists upon the need for the easy conveyance of ideas, but fails to insist upon the desirability of a style incrusted with verbal jewels.

For example, the Rev. John Tucker of Newbury, inducting the Rev. Edmund Noyes into the pastoral care of the First Church in Salisbury, advised him that, the business of ministers being to instruct

the ignorant,

they should be well acquainted with Language; and able to use those Forms of Speech which are most expressive of what's intended, as well as suited to the Capacities of their Hearers. I am sensible, indeed, that such is the odd Turn of some Men's Minds, that they are never better pleased, nor think themselves more edified, than when they hear what they do not understand. . . . the surest Way to gain the Applause of such, is for the Preacher, at least frequently to use the most obscure Terms, and talk very unintelligibly.

Mr. Tucker also thought that ministers should avoid

a low grov'ling Stile, . . . as it disgusts the Minds even of common Hearers, and brings Contempt upon this sacred Office. — Wisdom here, and that Skill in Language, a Preacher of the Gospel must be suppos'd to have, will direct to the happy Mean between these two Extreams.³

1 Op. cit., p. 33.

² The Departure of Elijah lamented. A Sermon Occasioned By the Great & Publick Loss In the Decease Of the very Reverend & Learned Cotton Mather (Boston, 1728), p. 24.

3 The Example of Christ, as a Guide to Ministers & People, considered and inforced. In A Sermon Preach'd at the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Edmund Noyes (Boston, 1751). The

The "happy Mean" of the Rev. Mr. Tucker is, however, a mean between colloquialism and elegance, and not between the easy conveyance of ideas and a bejeweled splendor.

Two years later the Rev. Samuel Phillips addressed a convention of ministers in Boston in very similar language, and told them that they

should speak plainly:

'Their Style and Language may not be either vainly nice, or meanly negligent, but manly and grave,' and suitable to the Capacity of the Hearers in general, lest they darken, instead of explaining, the Counsels of God. . . . Ministers of the Gospel shou'd beware of wrapping up the Truths of God's Word in dark and uncertain Expressions, which may be interpreted diverse Ways.¹

In 1755 the great Jonathan Mayhew, publishing a volume of fourteen sermons, said:

. . . I have conceived, That the end of speaking, especially of preaching, was to express, not to disguise, a man's real sentiments: Tho' I know that I, herein, differ from many of my own Order!²

But if there were "many of my own Order" who held contrary ideals, they certainly were not vocal about them; on the contrary, the emphasis is almost uniformly upon plainness and lucidity. In the same year the Rev. Ebenezer Gay, at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Smith into "The Work of the Gospel Ministry, in Sharon," told him it should be the concern of preachers

to speak in a clear and distinct Manner, and to adapt their Discourse and Language to the Understanding of Men, and the Capacities of their Hearers.

minister is to base himself on Scripture expressions. "This will give a solemn Elegance to his Language, and divine Truths will ever appear better in this Dress, than in all the *studied* Pomp of *Greek* or *Roman* Eloquence. — And having set the Truth in an easy and clear Light, let him press the same upon the Mind and Conscience, with every rational & divine Argument the Subject *naturally* admits of." (The quotations are from pp. 22–23.) Note the contrast between Tucker's turning away from Greek and Roman eloquence, and Cotton Mather. It is perhaps significant that the sermon also contains a severe denunciation of religious enthusiasm.

¹ Preaching Peace by Jesus Christ describ'd and urg'd, as the principal Design of the Gospel-Ministry (Boston, 1753), pp. 9-10.

² Sermons Upon the following Subjects, Viz. On hearing the Word . . . (Boston, 1755), pp. ii-iii.

. . . Ministers should . . . in their *Pulpit Discourses*, study *Plainness of Speech*; not, indeed, in Opposition to that which is correct, decent, graceful, nervous, and pungent, but to that which is obscure, lofty and unintelligible, loose and incoherent.¹

The previous year the Rev. Marston Cabot, a great believer in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, inducting young Mr. Brown into the pulpit in Kellingley, thought that there were many tropes, such as metaphors, metonymies, ironies, and hyperboles in Scripture, for which a knowledge of grammar is necessary, but he would use logic only

for analysing, defining, dividing, and [achieving] more clear and fair resolution of a Text; Also, for Argumentation and defence of the Truth against an Adversary. Tho a curious trifling and playing with words in a Pulpit is vain, yet it is the part of a skilful Teacher, to order, methodize and distribute truth in it's proper place.²

"Cast your publick Discourses," wrote the Rev. Samuel Buell a year later,

into the most regular and becoming Scheme; observe a steady Strain of Thought, good Connection, and natural Transitions through the Whole of them; while you make Use of Art to conceal Art, and endeavour to avoid antiquated multiferious Divisions, and the dry Exactness of metaphysical Accuracy of Distinctions: Labour also to avoid meer loose Harangue, and a confus'd Huddle of Words, shuffl'd together in a wild and incoherent Manner. Let so much of distinct Method be observable to your Auditory, (at least to the Judicious) as that they may be able to commit to the Memory, the main Branches of your Discourse, or the leading Point in View; least nothing be fix'd in the Mind for after-Improvement, and the Sermon be lost as soon as heard: Good Order hath Power and Beauty in it. Let your Stile and Diction be correct, masculine, nervous and striking; make use of such Words and Phrases, as will exhibit the most clear and bright Ideas of Truth, and answer the best Purposes. There is a Plainness, Simplicity, and Majesty of Speech that is most useful; beautiful, and most acceptable also, to the Bulk of our Auditory. Dress not up divine and glorious Truths, in a coarse and contemptible Garb; nor give them such Polish and Orna-

² A Sermon Preach'd In the first Parish, in Kellingley, At the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Aaron Brown (New-London, 1754). See pp. 6-8.

¹ The Work of a Gospel-Minister, and the Importance of approving himself to GOD in it (New-Haven, 1755), p. 15.

ment, as does not conduce to their Usefulness: Remember you are a Preacher of the Gospel of him, who was the crucified Jesus; and that your Stile must be so far crucified as to be level to the Capacities of the Unlearned and Unskilful: Let not your Stile affect the Pomp and Magnificence of the Theatre, since that is inconsistent with that Gravity which becomes the Pulpit.¹

That the movement for plainness and lucidity was not confined to the non-Anglican faiths is evident when one discovers the Rev. William Smith of Pennsylvania condemning before a body of Episcopal clergymen those

who, in their Preaching, betray a marvellous Littleness of Genius, and Barrenness of matter. They are ever upon minute distinctions, Party-Shibboleths, perplexing definitions, and nice modes;

and he compares such ministers to scientific smatterers, and says their preaching is usually attended "with Revilings and Cursings and Anathemas against all others differing the least from them in persuasion, . . ." This was in 1762. The Rev. Samuel Mather, in a sermon preached to the annual convocation of ministers in Boston in May of that year, was saying much the same thing, advocating the diligent

² Discourses on Public Occasions in America (London, 1762; 2d ed.), p. 135. Note, however, that he says he has revised a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Barton, which had certain faults: "in composition" there is "a certain incommunicable art of making one part rise gracefully

out of another" which Barton lacks. ("Appendix" to Discourses, p. 4.)

¹ Christ the grand Subject of Gospel-Preaching; the Power of God, manifested in the Work of Faith; and Unbelief under the Gospel, lamented (New-York, 1755), p. 24. Note, amid this plea for lucidity, the vestigial remnant of "quaintness" in the play on the word "crucified." Buell repeated and reinforced this doctrine at the ordination of the Rev. Samson Occum, the Mohegan Indian. However much fine language "may please the vitiated Taste and Humours of some, the two distant Poles are not more remote from each other, than such Manner of Pulpit Work from a genuine Aptitude and Tendency to pierce the Heart, to awaken the Conscience, and to do good to the Souls of Men." The best preachers "communicate their Thoughts in a correct, masculine, nervous, striking and charming Stile and Diction." It is "unnatural and disagreeable" when "the Preacher who has not a natural spontaneous flow of ready and elegant Expressions, has labour'd hard to polish his little Composition, by the constant Glitter of shining Phrases, by arranging his Words, beautifying his Language, rounding his Periods, so as really to stiffen his Discourse: When by minding little Things over much, he has betray'd the Want of a Heart deeply aw'd and impress'd with a Sense of what he is about." (The Excellence and Importance of the saving Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel-Preacher, plainly and seriously represented and enforced [New-York, 1861], pp. 34-35. He has other remarks on the same subject; see pp. 36-37.)

preparation of sermons and the careful choice of sound words in which to deliver them to the people.

Two years later, in one of the longest discussions of prose and preaching among the ordination sermons, the Rev. Samuel West of Dartmouth supported the same doctrine:

To abound in too luxuriant and affected a diction, and to run into scholastick niceties, is far from being a likely method to promote the knowledge of christianity, . . . Too much paint and varnish hinder the truths of the gospel from shining out in their genuine lustre and brightness.

West defines a variety of false styles:

... such is an affected diction, abounding with great swelling words of vanity, and those pompous high-flown metaphors, which under the pretence of containing some very sublime mysteries and profound sense, are only a jingle and play of words.

This, he says, "is the common fault of enthusiasts, and men of too warm an imagination." Equally one should avoid

mere addresses to the passions; without taking any care to inform the judgment and understanding: . . . to set their [the hearers'] passions to work when the judgment and understanding are not convinced; is only a turning religion into a mere piece of mechanism.

Preachers who do so are

not endowed with understanding and common sense. The same may be said of those who abound in nice and refined speculations; such as barren points of controversies, dry and critical observations, or philosophical disquisitions, or any refinements in divinity, which do not level to the capacities of the hearers. . . . How many will contend with the utmost earnestness about a parcel of nice scholastick phrases, as if they were the grand points of religion, when either they are only about a set of vague and insignificant terms, being words without ideas, or mère verbal contentions; or if there is any real difference, 'tis meerly speculative, and such as does not affect practice, or else about something left doubtful and ambiguous in scripture, or of such a nature, that we have not faculties sufficient to determine on

¹ Of the Pastoral Care: A Sermon Preached to the Reverend Ministers of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, at Their Annual Convention in Boston, On May 27. 1762 (Boston, 1762), p. 20.

which side the truth lies, or at most of but small importance to religion and the souls of men: yet these are often contended for, in such an ill-natured and unchristian manner, as greatly to disturb the peace of churches.¹

In truth, the business of the pulpit was increasingly held to be pastoral rather than controversial. Said the Rev. Jason Haven at North Yarmouth that same summer:

The faithful and judicious preacher will not affect any great pomp and parade of language; sensible that these serve rather to amuse the mind, and please the fancy, than to convey the weighty truths of the gospel, with life and energy to the heart. . . . A plain easy and familiar style; free from a vain flourish of words, on the one hand; and a slovenly incorrectness, on the other, seems most agreable to the nature of the gospel, and most conformable to the example of inspired writers. . . . It is not the business of the public teacher to seek to discover any new truths, or doctrines, but to collect, adjust and range, in an instructive order, those which lie scattered with a noble profusion, in the sacred scriptures: just as the skilful gardiner is not expected to form any new plant or flower, but to place in a beautiful order and symmetry, those which are sown, in a beautiful disorder, by the God of nature. . . . His sermons should not resemble those cabinets, which are stored with useless rarities, and curious amusements.²

Avoid, counsels the Rev. Edward Barnard the following year,

whatever being sordid and boisterous offends the judicious, or that excess of the florid stile, and theatrical action, which by tickling the fancy, and captivating the eye, make an audience forgetful of their solid business.³

And Andrew Eliot writes in 1766:

I have greatly wondered, when I have heard ministers distinguish and refine, till they have lost both themselves and their hearers; . . . Abstract

¹ Christ the grand Subject of the Gospel Ministry. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Samuel West [son of the preacher], . . . in Needham (Boston, 1764), pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. There is much else of value in this sermon that I have not quoted. Here, as elsewhere in the citations made, I have silently corrected obvious typographical errors in the text.

² A Sermon Preached July 4, 1764. At the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Edward Brooks, to the Pastoral Care of the Church in North-Yarmouth (Boston, 1764), pp. 24-25, 27. See also pp. 28-30.

³ A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Gyles Merrill, To the Pastoral Care of the Church and Congregation In Plastow, and the North Part of Haverhill (Boston, 1765), p. 16.

reasoning is seldom of use in the pulpit, because but few can understand it, and no man can profit by a discourse he doth not understand.

A biography of Nathanael Hooker, published in 1770, remarks that Hooker's pulpit style

was bright and lively, somewhat of the *imagery*, always natural, striking, and to the purpose. He had a peculiar talent to raise striking images in the mind. He knew how to paint things very much to the life; could rouse the passions, and raise the affections; and at the same time his stile and composition were calculated to enlighten the understanding.

The biographer calls him one of the best preachers and one of the "most excellent sermonizers at this day." ²

Said John Hunt in 1772:

[Sermons must be] calculated to command a close attention, to strike the conscience, to warm and affect the heart,

and therefore

scholastic niceties, and a fine spun thread of reasoning, ought never to be pressed into the service of the Pulpit, unless to . . . adjust some intricate dispute: But we must guard against the *opposite* extremes; pompous descriptions, bold images, and luxuriant flights of fancy, although they may feed the imagination, seldom convey wholesome food to the mind; . . . [Metaphors] resemble the windows in old Cathedrals, in which the painting keeps out the light.³ Neither are we to endeavour to entertain our hearers with confused incoherent composition, and rambling excursions delivered in a low grovling style: We should beware of offering that to God which costs us nothing, . . .⁴

² Joseph Perry, The Character and Reward of the Faithful and Wise Minister of Jesus Christ: A Sermon, Occasioned by the Much Lamented Death of the Reverend Nathanael Hooker,

Pastor of the fourth Church of Christ in Hartford (Hartford, 1770), p. 19.

³ Cf. the quotation from Baxter, p. 119, n. 2, supra.

¹ A Sermon Preached September 17. 1766. At the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Ebenezer Thayer, To the Pastoral Care of the first Church in Hampton (Boston, 1766), pp. 16-17. Ministers "lean too much to their own understanding, and are wise above what is written. They lay much greater stress on their own curious refinements and subtile reasonings, than on the express declarations of the holy scriptures." (P. 15.)

⁴ A Sermon Preached September 25th 1771. By John Hunt, M.A. At his Ordination (Boston, 1772), pp. 19, 20.

And the Rev. Samuel Locke remarked:

It is also a point which ought carefully to be attended to, by public teachers of religion, that they accommodate themselves, in language, images, and method, as well as in the depth of their argumentation, and refinement of their metaphors, to the capacities of their hearers.

Jesus "imitated... the dignity and simplicity, the uniformity and variety of nature" in the parables, and the minister should do the same.

It would be possible to add quantitatively to the evidence adduced to illustrate the movement away from the ornate prose and intellectual subtleties of the seventeenth century to the plainer prose one associates with Benjamin Franklin. Enough, however, has appeared to show that the distance between the Magnalia and Franklin's Autobiography was not cleared in a single leap. On the contrary, this by no means exhaustive examination of colonial sermons reveals a continuing movement in the direction of a simple, dignified, and lucid style. The ministers achieved this style oftener than is realized; an examination of these forgotten pamphlets discovers an ordered intellectual substance, a command of dignified cadence, and an accuracy of diction which are part of that "plain easy and familiar style" that these ordination sermons, these discourses before bodies of the clergy, hold as ideals. Colonial congregations were critical of sermons; and there can be little doubt that the improvement of pulpit discourse in dignity, clearness, and simplicity accustomed colonial Americans to expect from their writers that easy command of language which places Franklin and Adams, Jefferson and Hamilton, among the great masters of political prose in the eighteenth century.

But there were ancillary tendencies as well. Not merely the desire to preach plainly, but also the desire to avoid controversy, is part of this movement. Popular historians of the period have succeeded in impressing the general reader with the idea that sectarian controversy in colonial America was continuous and bitter. Such views are colored by partisan accounts of episodes in Massachusetts history, like the

A Sermon Preached before the Ministers Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, at their Annual Convention in Boston (Boston, 1772), pp. 44–45.

persecution of the Quakers and the banishment of Roger Williams. Even better scholars do not always stop to realize that the Quakers who invaded seventeenth-century New England were persons of a different order from those pictured in song and story; and few have read enough of the Roger Williams controversy to realize that it was begun with reluctance and carried on with considerable courtesy on both sides.

What is more important for present purposes, however, is to remember that the leaders of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England saw with alarm the rise of theological controversy, and did what they could to check it by striving to discover its causes. One of these causes, as they soon learned, was the Idol of the Market Place, or at least of the theological market place. They learned the truth of Bacon's phrase: "... the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding . . . words plainly force and overrule the understanding, and throw all into confusion and lead men away into numberless empty controversies and idle fancies." And accordingly they sought, by clearness in writing, to avoid occasion for controversy.2 It does not follow, of course, that because a man writes a complicated style he is a disputatious fellow; and I am aware that all who enter theological disputations protest their love of peace and charity, and find fault with their opponents' English. Nevertheless, between 1700 and 1775, one begins by and by to note an interesting correlation of two facts: the appeal for the avoidance of controversy or (viewed from its positive side) for toleration; and the appeal for a simple, lucid, and direct prose style. The colonials apparently came to the conclusion that in proportion as they avoided ambiguity of expression they would avoid controversy over meaning; and so the classical ideal of sweet reasonableness even in matters of religion has as its counterpart a decent propriety in diction and syntax.

This correlation is explicit or implicit in some of the citations al-

This correlation is explicit or implicit in some of the citations already included, but to make the matter perfectly clear let me return once more to Cotton Mather. We have seen him wavering between

¹ Novum Organum (tr. Ellis and Spedding), I, xliii.

² From this point of view it is perhaps not without significance that Nathaniel Ward, the most intolerant of the earlier Massachusetts Puritans, wrote the most fantastic American prose of the seventeenth century — The Simple Cobler of Aggawam (London, 1647).

two styles in prose. Equally one sees him wavering between a greater or less degree of toleration. As his intolerant side has been sufficiently stressed by those who have discussed him, let me simply note that in 1717 one finds him expressing an ideal of reasonable toleration in religion:

A Man who is a Good Neighbour, and a Good Subject, has a Right unto his Life and the Comforts of it. It is not his being of this or that Opinion in Religion, but his doing something which directly tends to hurt Humane Society, by which this Right can be forfeited. And therefore, Blasphemies, and attempts to poison People with Atheism, come not into the Catalogue of Things that may sue for a Toleration. . . . But a Good Neighbour, and a Good Subject, has a claim to all his Temporal Enjoyments before he becomes a Christian. It is very odd, That he should lose his claim, from his embracing of Christianity; and because he does not happen to be a Christian of the uppermost Party. . . . For an uppermost Party of Christians, to punish Men in their Temporal Enjoyments, because in some Religious Opinions they dissent from them, or with an exclusion from the Temporal Enjoyments, which would justly belong unto them; 'Tis downright Robbery."

It is not germane to the present point to argue whether Mather really meant what he said, or whether this is a piece of special pleading; the point is that the theory of reasonable toleration being thus established could not be easily destroyed. Incidentally, the next year, Mather gave practical force to his doctrine by saying in the course of his ordination sermon for a Baptist clergyman, the Rev. Elisha Callender:

How much Gall would be taken out of our Ink, if the Maxims of Piety dictated what passes thro' our Pens into the World? . . . [Consider calmly] That on both sides, pleading for your Different Sentiments, you are to the best of your Judgments, but pleading the Cause of that very Piety, which you are both United in. . . . I pray, we may not be so unnaturally Rude, as to treat churlishly the Members of that Body, into which all our comfort lies in our being Incorporated? ²

¹ Malachi. Or, The Everlasting Gospel, Preached unto the Nations (Boston, 1717), Pp. 73-74.

² Brethren dwelling together in Unity. The True Basis for an Union Among the People of God, Offered and Asserted (Boston, 1718), pp. 21, 23. Papists are exempted from toleration, but Mather laments that "New-England also has in some Former Times, done some Things of this Aspect [religious persecution], which would not now be so well approved of."

Obviously the minister who preaches piety instead of theology is less likely to employ an involved style and less likely to fall into contro-

versy than one who continues to sever and divide.

An example from secular life will illustrate the union of the desire to avoid controversy, and the ideal of a proper eighteenth-century style. When Thomas Cushing, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, died, the Rev. Thomas Prince preached the funeral sermon, in which he said that Cushing had been tolerant of every denomination of Protestants, and remarked that

He had a clear Voice, a lively and natural Way of Speaking, a proper Style, and in Affairs of Moment wou'd express Himself with decent Courage and a suitable Pathos. . . when a *Point* of great Importance laboured, and He was apprehensive of Hurt or Danger to the Publick . . . He would rise in Voice and Argument to a great Degree of noble Warmth: — But not so as to discompose Himself or disconcert his Views.¹

In other words, Cushing kept to the ideal of a decent composure of mind and a decent composure in speech, and this is the ideal which was increasingly stressed as the century wore on.

Thus one finds the Rev. John Tucker insisting that young ministers

should use

those Forms of Speech which are *most expressive* of what's intended, as well as *suited* to the Capacities of their Hearers,

and in the same sermon he pleads for the ending of sectarian controversy. If it is, he says, our duty and privilege in religious matters to investigate for ourselves,

⁽P. 39.) Increase Mather contributed a preface of four pages, in which he expressed pleasure in the situation, and added, speaking of the Baptists: "Suppose their particular Opinion to be an Error, our holding Communion with them, does not intimate any approbation of it. If it did, we must renounce Communion with all the Men in the World." (P. ii.) The following sentence is not without pathos: "May I now I am going out of the World, leave a dying Example to those that shall survive me, of a Catholick and Christian Spirit, and of Charitableness to those that may in controversal and extrafundamental Opinions differ from us." (P. iv.)

¹ The Pious cry to the Lord for Help when the Godly and Faithful fail among them (Boston, 1746), p. 27. The passage on toleration is on p. 31. Cushing's "Genius" inclined him "either to unbyass'd Reasoning or agreable Observations." (P. 25.)

shall we not allow this Liberty to others, and shew ourselves of a Catholic and Charitable Temper? Upon this free Enquiry, which every Christian has an undoubted Right to, . . . tho' we may hope Men will be generally agree'd in the more in'tresting and important Things of Religion, . . . yet as it cannot be expected but that in Matters of smaller Moment, there will be a Diversity of Sentiment, . . .

If sectarian controversy abandoned this ideal of reasonableness in matter and tone, the clever debater scored heavily by pointing out the deficiency of his opponent. For example, during the controversy over the Anglican establishment in the colonies, the Rev. John Beach observed of his opponents' style:

. . . if, instead of offering the Reasons of our Opinions with Meekness, and speaking the Truth in Love, we use the most provoking and insulting Language we can invent, and rake every Dunghill to find Scandal to fling at our Adversaries, and care not whether it be true or false, so it be but spiteful and disgraceful, if instead of rectifying their Mistakes we try to blast the Reputation of those who differ from us, and represent them as hateful and ridiculous, as Men of no Conscience or Reason, and strain their Expressions to such an ill Sense as was never intended; though this kind of managing Controversy may make Sport for Fools, yet it must needs do a World of Mischief by souring Men's Tempers, and propagating Malice and Ill-Nature, which is the very Temper of the Devils; and so making Men much more the Children of Hell, than they would be, if they did remain ignorant of the Truth in Contest.²

For additional proof of the correlation between the doctrine of toleration and the ideal of simplicity in style, we have but to turn to that eminent controversialist, Jonathan Mayhew. We find him proclaiming in an anniversary sermon of 1754 that, good morals being the end of government,

Protection is, in justice, due to all persons indifferently, whose religion does not manifestly, and very directly, tend to the subversion of the government. . . . a general toleration, with this single exception, is so far from

The Example of Christ, as a Guide to Ministers & People, considered and inforced (Boston, 1751), pp. 22, 33. See pp. 126–27, supra, for other passages from this sermon.

² A Continuation of the Calm and Dispassionate Vindication of the Professors of the Church of England, against the Abusive Misrepresentations and fallacious Argumentations of Mr. Noah Hobart (Boston, 1751), pp. 5–6.

being pernicious to society, that it greatly promotes the good of it in many respects; ¹

and saying the next year that he has himself searched the Scriptures "without a zealous attachment to, or prejudice against, the opinions of Others," and that his theological doctrines

are not disguised by any kind of artifice: They do not just peep thro' the mask of studied, equivocal, and ambiguous phrases; nor skulk in the dark, as it were from a consciousness of what they are, and a fear of being detected: . . . For I have conceived, That the end of speaking, especially of preaching, was to express, not to disguise, a man's real sentiments.²

The ideal of clarity led him to state that

It is infinitely dishonourable to the all-good and perfect Governor of the world, to imagine that he has suspended the eternal salvation of men upon any niceties of speculation;

or that any virtuous seeker for truth "shall be finally discarded because he fell into some erroneous opinions." 3

Scorn all bigottry, party-spirit, and narrowness of mind in religious matters; and allow to all men that liberty herein, which you take yourselves, without hating or reviling them, merely because they differ from you in opinion,

he urges elsewhere — a sentiment the more remarkable because one finds it in a sermon apropos of the Boston earthquake of 1755.4 Mayhew did not always live up to this standard of sweet reasonableness, of course; he was capable of addressing John Cleaveland in language like this:

Can you then possibly think it became you, an obscure person from another province, and one so unletter'd as you are; an out-cast from the college to which you was a disgrace; for some time a rambling itinerant, and promoter of disorders and confusion among us; so raw and unstudied in divin-

² Sermons Upon the following Subjects (Boston, 1755), pp. ii, iii.

A Sermon Preach'd in the Audience of His Excellency William Shirley, Esq; Captain General, Governour and Commander in Chief, The Honourable His Majesty's Council, and the Honourable House of Representatives, Of . . . Massachusetts-Bay (Boston, 1754), p. 10.

³ Ibid., p. 103. ⁴ A Discourse On Rev. XV. 3^d, 4th. Occasioned by the Earthquakes In November 1755 (Boston, 1755), p. 71.

ity; one hardly ever heard of among us, but in the frequent reports of your follies and extravagances, . . . to turn author . . . ? **

But he could recognize good temper even in an Anglican, and say of an anonymous opponent that he was

doubtless a person of excellent sense, and an happy talent at writing; apparently free from the sordid, illiberal spirit of bigotry; one of a cool temper, and who often shews much candor; well acquainted with the affairs of the Society [for the Propagation of the Gospel], and, in general, a fair reasoner.

There is much good sense, good temper, candor and christian catholicism discovered in various parts of his Tract.²

Disputing with an Arian in 1757, the Rev. Aaron Burr introduces his argument with the following passage setting forth his ideal of controversial style:

The main End of Speaking and Writing (especially when any Thing of a religious Nature and Importance is the Subject) should be, to be thoroughly understood. — And this End (I am bold to affirm) is what I have aim'd at, how far soever I have miss'd it in what follows. . . . I have carefully avoided those labour'd Distinctions, Criticisms and Niceties, which tend to bewilder and confound, rather than in the least to instruct, by far the greater Part of Mankind; who are Strangers to scholastick Niceties, and the various Methods and Arts of Sophistry; and are often easily puzzled and imposed upon by the mere Charm of Words, which either have no Meaning at all, or the true Sense of which they never come at. What I have principally consulted is, to discover Truth; and express it in a Manner plain and intelligible, even to the lowest and most vulgar Capacity.³

So, too, the Rev. William Smith prefaces six discourses intended to advocate the Protestant religion and civil liberty, with the hope that

the Occasion will generally justify the Manner. He always endeavours to suit his language to the subject; and thinks he has no where offered to address the Passions, till he has first endeavoured to convince the Judgment.

A Letter of Reproof to Mr. John Cleaveland of Ipswich (Boston, 1764), p. 4.

² Remarks on an Anonymous Tract (Boston, 1765), pp. 3, 78.

³ The Supreme Deity Of our Lord Jesus Christ, maintained (Boston, 1757), pp. 1-2.

⁴ Discourses on Several Public Occasions (London, 1759), p. vii. This is the first edition. Cf. p. 129, n. 2, supra.

Three years later the Rev. Thomas Barnard was instructing the young minister that the wise pastor

will avoid Contentions and Censures respecting the jarring human Explications of any of the great Doctrines of the Gospel, of which tho' some Constructions must be false, yet all have by Turns been strove for with the bitterest Zeal. He will leave out of his Divinity, (that is his scriptural Divinity, which he is called to manifest) those abstruse Propositions, concerning God and his eternal Counsels, the Liberty of the human Conduct, the Influence of Matter upon Spirit,

for, if he writes or preaches upon these perplexed topics,

what Wonder, if instead of manifesting the Truth, he 'darken Counsel by Words without Knowledge'?

Let him follow the dictates of simplicity in style:

In Reasoning the Terms should be clear, precise and of a known Meaning; the Construction of Sentences, plain and unperplexed, as much as the Subject will allow. In relating Facts, the Manner should be simple, the Collection of the Evidence of them naturally arranged; ¹ the Use to be made of them obvious.²

Refuting in nine sermons the errors of the Baptists, the Rev. Joseph Fish hoped he had been fair:

If I have, in any instance, mistaken facts, or misrepresented persons or things, (which is not impossible, though I am not conscious to my self that I have,) I desire it may be corrected, and hope it will be look'd upon and treated, as a simple, undesigned mistake. . . . [If there is] any one expression or word, in the following sheets, rightly understood and duly weigh'd, that so much as savours of a contrary spirit, it has escaped my notice—I condemn it, and desire it may be corrected: for I abhor such a spirit, towards my separate brethren.

¹ Cf., in this respect, the injunctions laid by Jonathan Edwards upon himself in writing on natural science. See W. P. Upham, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d Ser., XV (1902), pp. 514-21.

² A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. William Whitwell, To the . . . Congregation in Marblehead (Boston, 1762), pp. 10, 11, 16-17. The directions for preaching are like the description given of Cushing's oratory. Cf. p. 136, supra.

But he adds, amusingly enough, "my provocations have been uncom-

monly great." 1

The provocations of controversy are usually "uncommonly great," and I do not for a moment believe that the controversies, theological and political, which racked the colonies, were all conducted on the high plane of the ideal set forth in these passages. The Rev. Henry Caner in 1763 told Jonathan Mayhew that he observed "no measures of decency or good manners" in his writing, but sacrificed "the meek and gentle spirit of the Gospel to the gratification of a licentious and ungovern'd temper." 2 The Rev. John Beach described a pamphlet by the Rev. Mr. Hobart as "a bundle of . . . hideous and monstrous slanders." 3 No ideal is ever attained; and it would be naïve to pretend that when the Americans gave up seventeenth-century mannerism they therefore ceased to argue. Passages setting forth the newer ideal are naturally more casual in controversial writing than the passages in ordination sermons which instruct the young preacher how best to teach; and the newer ideal is sometimes implicit rather than explicit even in such passages. Nevertheless, when pamphlet after pamphlet suggests that the language of controversy shall be both perspicuous and good-tempered, when sermon after sermon declares that it is idle for the minister to indulge in

a long circumlocution, or series of argumentation, in various heads, observations, divisions and subdivisions, . . . [since] Such a method . . . rather tends to perplex and bewilder the minds of most readers,⁴

the conclusion seems irresistible that the spread of the feeling for tolerance (and good temper) has something to do with the spread of the feeling for style; and that the movement for classical clarity in diction is, in this respect, a function of the movement for the recognition

² A Candid Examination of Dr. Mayhew's Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (Boston, 1763), p. 1.

3 A Friendly Expostulation, With all Persons concern'd in publishing A late Pamphlet

(New York, 1763), p. 3.

The Church of Christ a firm and durable House. Shown in A Number of Sermons On Matth. XVI. 18 (New-London, 1767), pp. iv-v.

⁴ Chandler Robbins, Some brief Remarks on A Piece published by John Cotton, Esq.; (Boston, 1774), p. 1. "As much brevity as is consistent with clearness, is always most eligible in all writings, especially of this kind." (Loc. cit.)

of right reason. Certain it is that, among the fathers of the republic, none assailed his opponents with the personal invective which Milton

and Salmasius lavished upon each other.

But it is not alone in this fashion that the new prose received support in theological quarters — it found proponents also among the historians of the colonial eighteenth century. Most of the controversies depended upon history for their facts; and the need of setting forth historic facts objectively was evident. As an ideal, objectivity is claimed by most historians, and sobriety of statement in historical matters is as old as American literature itself, the writings of Bradford and Winthrop owing much of their grave dignity to the desire of these authors worthily to record the truth of history. But it is one thing to have an ideal of objectivity in historical writing, and another to find the right style to body forth that ideal; and the confusion into which the seventeenth century sometimes fell is once more exemplified by Cotton Mather.

I have already quoted from the *Magnalia*. The most stupendous American historical work undertaken in the seventeenth century, Mather's masterpiece was intended, he says, to

Report the Wonderful Displays of His [God's] Infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith His Divine Providence hath Irradiated an Indian Wilderness.

Mather devotes considerable space to explaining what he proposes to write and how he proposes to write it. His ideal is, of course, impartiality:

'Tis true, I am not of the Opinion, that one cannot merit the Name of an Impartial Historian, except he write bare Matters of Fact, without all Reflection;

yet it is in the question of "Reflection" that the ambiguity lies.

I have not Commended any Person, but when I have really judg'd, not only That he Deserved it, but also that it would be a Benefit unto Posterity to know, Wherein he deserved it.

But wherein do the deserts of the deserving lie? His history is frankly a church history, a Protestant church history, written to a thesis, which he sets forth:

It may be, 'tis not possible for me to do a greater Service unto the Churches on the *Best Island* of the Universe, than to give a distinct Relation of those *Great Examples* which have been occurring among Churches of *Exiles*, that were driven out of that *Island*, into an horrible *Wilderness*, meerly for their being Well-willers unto the *Reformation*.¹

His theory of history is that of Cicero: "Historia est Testis temporum, Nuntia vetustatis, Lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ." His book is religious-history teaching by example, and he summons up all his stylistic ingenuity worthily to present his great theme. He adduces Moses and twenty or thirty other writers to prove that history is important. He cites Polybius, Lucian, du Maury, Tacitus, Lipsius, Salmasius, Pope Zacharias, Schlusselbergius, Heylin, Chamier, and various other worthies to show how difficult it is to avoid praising good men and condemning bad ones. He refers to thirty or more authors while discussing the fact that he himself has not had sufficient time to write his history well; and he sprinkles his introduction liberally with learned citations and stylistic "quaintnesses," when he expresses the hope that he will not be too severely criticized and that his work will redound to the glory of Christ in America. As for the style, the passage with which this study began shows Mather pleading for the use of learning and decoration. Here is a second characteristic discussion:

Parve (sed invideo) ne me, Liber, ibis in Urbem.

Luther, who was himself owner of such an Heart, advised every Historian to get the Heart of a Lion; and the more I consider of the Provocation, which this our Church-History must needs give to that Roaring Lion, who has, through all Ages hitherto, been tearing the Church to pieces, the more occasion I see to wish my self a Cœur de Lion. But had not my Heart been Trebly Oak'd and Brass'd for such Encounters as this our History may meet withal, I would have worn the Silk-worms Motto, Operitur dum Operatur, and have chosen to have written Anonymously; or, as Claudius Salmasius calls himself Walo Messalinus, as Ludovicus Molinæus calls himself Ludiomæus Colvinus, as Carolus Scribanius calls himself Clarus Bonarscius, (and no less Men than Peter du Moulin, and Dr. Henry More, stile themselves, the one Hippolytus Fronto, the other Franciscus Palaeopolitanus.) Thus I would have tried, whether I could not have Anagrammatized my Name into some Concealment; or I would have referr'd it to be found in the second

I have again preferred to use the Murdock text, op. cit., pp. 1, 13-14, 6.

Chapter of the second Syntagm of Selden de Diis Syris. Whereas now I freely confess, 'tis COTTON MATHER that has written all these things; Me, me, ad sum qui scripsi; in me convertite Ferrum."

If the substance of the Magnalia scarcely suggests Gibbon, the style

is equally remote from Goldsmith.

Less than a quarter of a century later, another clergyman, the Rev. Hugh Jones of Virginia, published a history of that commonwealth, entitled *The Present State of Virginia*. No contrast can be greater. None of the books about Virginia, says Jones, "descends to the present State and Circumstances of this Colony"; and because mankind entertains "very erroneous and monstrous Thoughts concerning the Country, Lives, Religion and Government of the *Virginians*," he has resolved to write:

I have industriously avoided the ornamental Dress of Rhetorical Flourishes, esteeming them unfit for the naked Truth of historical Relations, and improper for the Purpose of general Propositions.²

Three years afterward the Rev. Experience Mayhew, writing a series of biographical sketches of pious New England Indians, enunciates an equally simple standard of historic truth. The testimony in his book, he says, is

my own Fidelity and Concern for Truth in this Performance. . . . I have not in this History imposed on others any thing which I do not my self believe; ³

and he has known the persons described, or has carefully inquired of reputable witnesses, or taken accounts of those who lived before his own time — from his father, his grandfather, or other worthy persons. Mayhew enunciates no theory of style, but it is striking that the biographies thus carefully guarded against error are plain and direct in manner. He was aided in this project by the Rev. Thomas Prince, who, in 1736, edited an edition of Mason's Brief History of the Pequot War, a book then a century old; a modern editor could not be more concise, clear, and direct than was Prince in this undertaking.

² The Present State of Virginia (London, 1724), pp. vi, vii.

Ibid., pp. 26-27. The quotation from Cicero may be found on p. 9.

³ Indian Converts: or, Some account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a considerable Number of the Christianized Indians (London, 1727), p. ix.

Prince was also the compiler of the invaluable A Chronological History of New-England In the Form of Annals (1736), the preface to which expresses his theory of historical writing; and the point for us is not his belief that Governor Belcher will "take a noble and useful Pleasure" in the actions of his predecessors, but in the passage which follows:

It is the *orderly Succession* of these Transactions and Events, as they precisely fell out in Time, too much neglected by our Historians, that for some years past I have taken the greatest Pains to search and find, . . . not in the specious Form of a *proper History*, which admits of artificial Ornaments and Descriptions to raise the Imagination and Affections of the Reader; but of a *closer* and more naked Register, comprizing only *Facts* in a *Chronological Epitome*, to enlighten the Understanding.¹

This repudiation at once of history-teaching by example and of "artificial Ornaments and Descriptions" is the antithesis of Mather. It is followed by some charming paragraphs in which Prince tells how he got his materials, Chamberlain's account of the Cottonian Library having been the spark "Which excited in me a Zeal of laying hold on every Book, Pamphlet, and Paper . . . that have any Tendency to enlighten our History." "It is *Exactness* I aim at," he says, "and [I] would not have the least Mistake if possible pass to the World"; and, though "I am on the side of pure Christianity, as also of Civil and Religious Liberty; . . . I am for leaving every one to the Freedom of Worshipping according to the Light of his Conscience;" and above all, he hopes he is accurate. The three ideals of a plain style, a reasonable toleration, and an exact historical method meet in Prince's volume.

Samuel Mather's An Apology For the Liberties of the Churches in New England (Boston, 1738) is, like Prince's History, written after a careful consultation of first-hand authorities, but Mather says nothing on the question of style.³ A year later, John Callender's history of

¹ A Chronological History of New-England In the Form of Annals (Boston, 1736). The dedication to Belcher, which contains the passage cited, is printed in the first eight unnumbered pages.

² Ibid., pp. i-x.
³ Charles N. Davies, who once owned the Huntington Library copy, wrote in it that this "is perhaps the best written book extant on the subject of Congregational Churches."

Rhode Island, one of the most impartial of all the colonial histories, furnishes us with another glimpse of the historian at work:

I hope there are few or no Errors in the Matters of Fact related, or the Dates that are assigned; to prevent any Mistakes, I have carefully reviewed the publick Records, and my other Materials; . . . I designed to have put all the Additions and Enlargements, in the Form of Notes for my own Ease, but have been perswaded to weave as many of them as were proper into the Body of the Discourse.

His model, he says frankly, is Prince, whose stylistic ideal to avoid "artificial Ornaments and Descriptions" he obviously shares.

One of the most curious passages among the colonial historians is that in which William Stith records the genesis of his *The History*... of Virginia (1747). He tells us that his uncle, Sir John Randolph, originally planned to write a preface to the laws of Virginia, and collected materials for that purpose, which he never carried out. Stith thinks "such a Work, well performed, must naturally be a great Satisfaction, and even Ornament, to our Country," since, save for the "excellent but confused Materials, left us in Captain Smith's History," every other work is "empty and unsatisfactory." Stith wishes some one else would write the book, that he might be saved

the Trouble, of conning over our old musty Records, and of studying, connecting, and reconciling the jarring and disjointed Writings and Relations of different Men and different Parties.

He bids the "inquisitive Reader" perceive how much of his own book is founded on Smith, whose writings he found "vastly confused and perplexed, and took me more Labour and Pains to digest . . . than I at first expected." Stith's own account is "founded on the express Testimony, and the incontestable Authority, of our Records in the Capitol, and the Company's Journals," for

I take it to be the main Part of the Duty and Office of an Historian, to paint Men and Things in their true and lively Colours; and to do that Justice to the Vices and Follies of Princes and great Men, after their Death, which it is

¹ An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode-Island (Boston, 1739), pp. 10-11 (of Dedication).

not safe or proper to do, whilst they are alive. And herein, as I judge, chiefly consist the Strength and Excellency of *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*.

If Stith does not directly discuss the question of style, and if his ideal of historical writing is a curious blend of Cotton Mather's and that of the eighteenth century, he yet insists upon the ideals of order and clarity, of the rational weighing of authorities and the statement of events in succession which distinguish Prince, whom he also resembles in avoiding "artificial Ornaments and Descriptions."

Recording certain French and Indian encroachments upon the colonies, the Rev. Benjamin Doolittle, in a manuscript published in 1750, opens his brief, dry, but impressive narrative with the statement:

My Purpose is only to relate Facts, as near as I am capable, from the best Information I could get: But it is probable there may be some Mistakes from Misinformation, arising from the different Apprehension Men have had concerning Facts, and the different Interests Men have in View: . . . Which makes it difficult in every Case to obtain an impartial Account.²

His recital, by reason of its objectivity and direct style, is in striking contrast to the rhetorical dress in which the horrors of French and Indian warfare are usually described.³ Doolittle, however, though he

¹ The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (Williamsburg, 1747), pp. iii-viii.

² A Short Narrative Of Mischief done by the French and Indian Enemy, on the Western Frontiers Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay (Boston, 1750), p. 1. The publication was posthumous.

³ The literature of hatred could be considerably enriched by extracts from colonial writings directed against the French, the extent and vituperation of which are scarcely suspected by those who have not toiled through the material. The difficulty is that a paper devoted to the subject would become tedious by the mere iteration of animosity. Of hundreds of examples, the following paragraph by Thomas Prince is a fair sample: "From their wicked Thirst of arbitrary Power, they [the French Bourbons] have by Wars, Blood and Treachery, abolished the ancient Liberties of France, and made their Subjects, both common People and Nobles Slaves. From their cruel Hatred of the reform'd Religion, they have destroy'd above Two Thousand Protestant Churches in that Kingdom; banished their Ministers; imprisoned, tortured, butchered and ruined above a Million of their People. And from their restless Eagerness to gain the Monarchy of Europe, they have, by unprovoked Wars, Battles, Sieges and mortal Sicknesses occasioned thereby, sacrificed Millions of their own Subjects and of their Neighbours round about them. They never made a Treaty without perfidious Violation in the fittest Time for their Advantage: They never made a War without fallacious and unjust Pretences: and they never made a Peace, without Additions to their Power and Empire." This, by one of the calmer minds in New England. (The Salvations of God in

practises the newer plainness of style, does not expatiate upon it. The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, writing a biography of John Sergeant, missionary to the Indians, says in 1753 that he designed a faithful account, that his work has been delayed by the necessity of consulting Sergeant's letters, and that he has not sought *Eloquence* but a plain narrative of facts intelligible to all. But with William Smith we reach another full-dress discussion of historical style.

Smith's History of the Province of New-York was written to correct British ignorance of colonial affairs. The author says he has tried to examine the public documents pertinent to his subject from the beginning; and sets forth his historical ideal in the following interesting

passages:

My Design is rather to inform than please. He who delights only in Pages shining with illustrious Characters, the Contentions of Armies, the Rise and Fall of Empires, and other grand Events, must have Recourse to the great Authours of Antiquity. A Detail of the little Transactions, which concern a Colony, scant in its Jurisdiction, and still struggling with the Difficulties naturally attending its infant State, to Gentlemen of this Taste can furnish no Entertainment.

His narrative, he says, is in this sense not history but

only a regular Thread of simple Facts; and even those unembellished with Reflections, because they themselves suggest the proper Remarks, and most Readers will doubtless be best pleased with their own. The sacred Laws of Truth have been infringed neither by positive Assertions, oblique, insidious, Hints, wilful Suppressions, or corrupt Misrepresentation. To avoid any Censures of this Kind, no Reins have been given to a wanton Imagination, for the Invention of plausible Tales,

for Smith chooses to be "honest and dull" rather than "agreeable and false."

¹ Historical Memoirs, Relating to the Housatunnuk Indians: Or, An Account of the Methods used, and Pains taken, for the Propagation of the Gospel among that Heathenish-Tribe (Boston, 1753), pp. i-iii.

^{1746.} In Part set forth in a Sermon At the South Church in Boston, Nov. 27 1746 [Boston, 1746], pp. 11-12.) When Indian massacre is added to this amalgam, the colonial preacher uses language comparable to that of Swinburne's Dirae.

With Respect to its Style, the Criticks, in that Branch of Literature, are at full Liberty to condemn at their Pleasure. The main Use of Language is to express our Ideas. To write in the gay, pleasing, Pomp of Diction is above my Capacity. If any are disposed to blame me for being too verbose, let it be remembered that this is the *indefeasible* Right of my Profession, . . . Perspicuity is all I have endeavoured to maintain, nor am I at Leisure to study any higher Attainments in Language.¹

I do not know whether that forgotten small masterpiece, An Essay on the Invention, ... of making ... Iron, from black Sea Sand, is properly discussed as history or not, for it contains a little of everything from humor to scientific speculation, but, inasmuch as it is an account of an episode in Eliot's life by which he set great store and the historical importance of which he felt to be very considerable, it seems pertinent to cite him here. This lively example of colonial prose at its best and brightest includes a discussion of style:

Some may say, that such trivial Stories, and a long Detail of minute Particulars concerning a little Bag of Sand and a Bar of Iron, is really below the Dignity of Writing. I do not know what such Persons intend, by Dignity of Writing, unless they can Mean, that when a Person is to write a Letter or a Book, he must ascend into the Clouds, think himself going about something quite different from the common Actions of Life: That he must divest himself of that Sociability, that easy Freedom, that Familiarity which is so much the Support and Pleasure of Conversation; must now put on a distant and forbidding Air, assume a solemn Mein, a formal Stiffness, as if clad in Buckrum; and being thus equipt is in Appearance like a Hog in Armour, very different from the inimitable Sir William Temple, who relates the common Incidents of Life, in such an easy agreeable Manner, as to engage the Attention, captivate the Mind, and excite the Admiration of every Reader.³

How remote is this from the "Buckrum" manner of Cotton Mather!

The History Of the Province of New-York (London, 1757), pp. xi-xii. I take "my Profession" in the above quotation to be an ironical reference to the fact that Smith was a minister—or did he have his function as a school-teacher in mind?

² Jared Eliot is ignored by Tyler, by the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, and by Parrington, who might be expected to discuss him because of the economic implications of the *Essay*.

³ An Essay on the Invention, or Art of making very good, if not the best Iron, from black Sea Sand (New-York, 1762), p. 17.

To sharpen one's sense of the long journey of the colonial mind in search of a style which would "engage the Attention, captivate the Mind, and excite the Admiration of every Reader," let me conclude by placing side by side two portraits by colonial writers, the first from 1697, the second exactly sixty years later. In the first, Cotton Mather is describing that excellent characteristic of Phips that "he would speak of his own low beginning with as much Freedom and Frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten," on which follows this paragraph:

It was counted an Humility in King Agathocles, the Son of a Potter, to be served therefore in Earthen Vessels, as Plutarch hath informed us: It was counted an Humility in Archbishop Willigis, the Son of a Wheelwright, therefore to have Wheels hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inscription, Recole unde Veneris, i.e. Remember thy Original. But such was the Humility and Lowliness of this Rising Man! Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatness, one Day, make a splendid Feast for the Ship-Carpenters of Boston, among whom he was willing at his Table to Commemorate the Mercy of God unto him, who had once been a Ship-Carpenter himself, but he would on all Occasions Permit, yea, Study to have his Meannesses remembred.

These learned references to Agathocles and Willigis, carefully balanced against each other, the conscious treatment of cadences, the opposition of "Lowliness" and "Rising Man," and the conclusion, "Study to have his Meannesses remembred"—all stamp this passage as belonging to the style of the grand rhétoriqueur of seventeenth-century New England. But here now is William Livingston striving to paint the portrait of John Pownal in 1757; the subject is again a colonial "statesman," albeit Livingston, unlike Mather, does not admire the character in question:

This gentleman . . . is something of a scholar, but a confused reasoner; and in his stile perplexed; and in that usefullest of all sciences, the knowledge of mankind, he is a mere novitiate: without the latter, your Lordship knows that other acquirements are comparatively of small account, in the management of public business. To be only learned, is frequently to be vain, ostentatious, and obstinate; such a one, in a word, as Tertullian de-

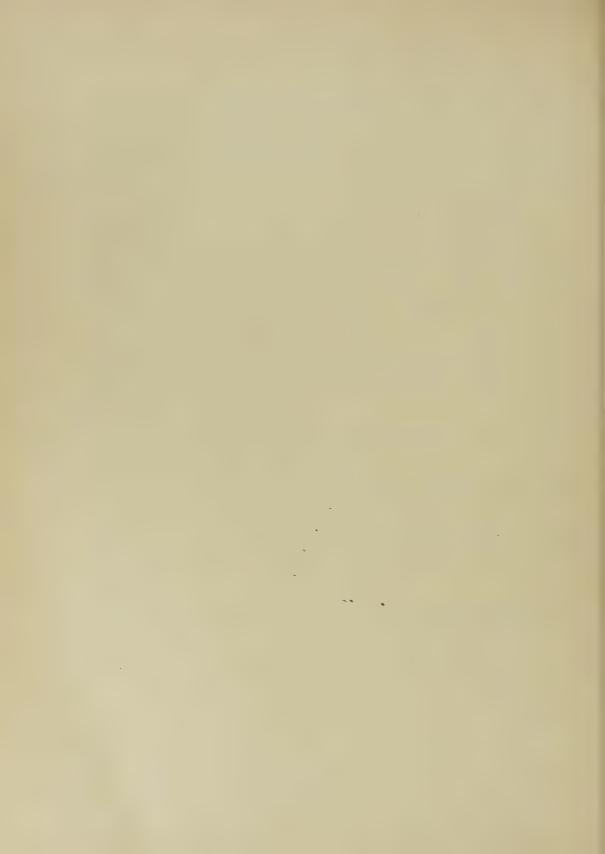
¹ Murdock, Selections from Cotton Mather, p. 262.

scribes the most learned among the heathens, 'an animal of glory.' This gentleman is fond of being considered in an important light. Insatiable of praise, he can not only hear himself flattered; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable sense, can flatter himself. He is a person of uncommon application, and a good memory. . . . He is for galloping into preferment: and so intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur, as to lose all patience in earning it.¹

Livingston is addressing a nobleman, and his style is therefore a touch more genteel than the common run of eighteenth-century American prose. Nevertheless, how remote is this writing from the "Buckrum" manner! The solitary allusion to a learned work is such as a virtuoso might make, and conceals rather than parades scholarship; the structure of the sentences is of the kind we instinctively associate with Chesterfield or Bolingbroke, and the antitheses are intellectual rather than rhetorical.

Other elements in the development of colonial style in the eighteenth century might be discussed. An important one is the colonial theory of education, which emphasizes, more frequently than most of us realize, the necessity of training in English as opposed to Latin and Greek. But enough has been cited, I trust, to show that the decades from Mather to Franklin's Autobiography are filled with conscious injunctions to achieve a style consonant with eighteenth-century ideals. Plain in the ordination and convocation sermons, this striving for lucidity and simplicity is less evident in the discussions of controversial manners, and only incidental to many colonial historical works. Nevertheless, I hope I have been able to exhibit three important elements in the situation and to show that there is an orderly development from 1700 to the Revolution, and not, as so many of our books seem to imply, a series of unexplained leaps in the history of prose.

¹ A Review of the Military Operations in North-America (London, 1757), pp. 30-31. There is more to this character sketch, but I have quoted enough to give its quality.



Carroll's Withdrawal of the 1865 Alice

By HARRY MORGAN AYRES

T IS today well known that Alice's Adventures in Wonderland is a rewriting and expansion of "Alice's Adventures under Ground," which in turn was the record of a narrative begun impromptu during a boating trip on the Thames, July 4, 1862. Lewis Carroll's own account of this now famous voyage is given, among other places, in a letter dated from Christ Church, Oxford, July 16, 1885, to Miss E. Gertrude Thomson, when he was supervising the reproduction in facsimile of the manuscript of his original draft:

The germ of "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" was an extempore story, told in a boat to the 3 children of Dean Liddell: it was afterwards, at the request of Miss Alice Liddell, written out for her, in M.S. print, with penand-ink pictures (such pictures!) of my own devising: without the least idea, at the time, that it would ever be published - But friends urged me to print it, so it was re-written, & enlarged, & published - Now that we have sold some 70,000 copies, it occurred to me that there must be a good many people, to whom a facsimile of the M.S. book wd be interesting: & that is my present task. There are 92 pages, &, though we do them 2 at a time, it is a tedious business: & I have to stay in all day for it, as I allow no hands but mine to touch the M.S. book - Workmen's hands would soon spoil it, & it is not my property now, so I feel a terrible responsibility in having it lent me by the owner, who (I am happy to believe) sets a certain value on it as something unique. Luckily (as it will avoid confusion) the name is different from the published book, and is "Alice's Adventures Under Ground". In another month, or two, I hope to have the pleasure of sending to you (and also to two or three other friends!) the fac-simile.

^{*} Unless otherwise credited, all quotations from letters are from the originals in the Huntington Library. See also S. D. Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London, 1898), pp. 93-94; and Canon Duckworth's letter (he was the fifth member of the party) in *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*, ed. S. D. Collingwood (London, 1899), pp. 358-60 (on pp. 163-74 may be found Carroll's own account, more written-up, of the boating trip).

Of the enlarged and rewritten Alice, two thousand copies were printed on June 30, 1865, bearing the Macmillan imprint. Carroll's arrangements with the publishers are not entirely clear. It appears that he paid the printer's charges at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and that Macmillan & Co., then publishers to the University, owned the copyright until the expiration of the forty-two-year period in 1907. Then, sometime during the summer of 1865, an extraordinary thing happened—it was decided to withdraw this edition of Alice and issue a new one. Here is what may be regarded as the authoritative explanation, made by Carroll's nephew and biographer, Collingwood (p. 104):

The first edition, which consisted of two thousand copies, was condemned by both author and illustrator, for the pictures did not come out well. All purchasers were accordingly asked to return their copies, and to send their names and addresses; a new edition was prepared, and distributed to those who had sent back their old copies, which the author gave away to various homes and hospitals. The substituted edition was a complete success, "a perfect piece of artistic printing," as Mr. Dodgson called it.

It will be noted that the following points are set forth:

(1) That the dissatisfaction felt by both author and illustrator was solely with the way the pictures came out;

(2) That purchasers were asked to return their copies, which were

then sent to homes and hospitals;

(3) That Dodgson regarded the new edition as a perfect piece of artistic printing.

It is important to be clear about each of these statements, because it becomes necessary to question the complete accuracy of all three.

There is, of course, no doubt as to the fact itself—that the first printed copies were withdrawn from the English market and a new edition put forth. This was printed by Richard Clay and bore the Macmillan imprint and the date 1866, though it was ready for the Christmas trade of 1865 and was briefly and unsympathetically reviewed in the Athenaeum of December 16, 1865.

¹ Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan, A Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) (London, 1931), p. 235. Though at two or three points I dissent from, or seek to modify, views expressed in this book, I have a great many more

In spite of the withdrawal of the 1865 Alice, there are still some fifteen copies of it known; nine of them were exhibited at the Carroll Centenary at Columbia University in 1932, two copies are at Harvard, and the Huntington Library has one. The others are in England. There is therefore no difficulty in putting specimens of the two editions side by side and noting for oneself just how bad the first is and how much improved the second. But when this is done it is at once apparent that there are only two respects — but there are two — in which one or the other could be pronounced better or worse; and neither is very striking.

The illustrations are the same (i.e., the electrotypes seem to be in no respect altered), but, with possibly two exceptions (pages 128 and 141), the impressions are a little lighter. Which is the better of the two sets of impressions, the dark or the light, I would not undertake to say. But I think there can be no doubt that in the edition of 1866 Alice's face is usually paler, brighter, and prettier. This is perhaps most noticeable on pages 10, 15, 88, and 121, but may be said to be the general effect throughout as a result of the lighter impression. The improvement, however, if it be an improvement — and it may be — hardly seems sufficient to justify the withdrawal of the earlier edition.

The second difference to be noticed is in the "paging" of the lines. The 1865 edition is marred, from the printer's point of view, by some fourteen "widows" — that is, occurrences of less than a full line at the top of the page. These undoubtedly are defects and were removed in the 1866 edition — a process which, on six or seven pages, permitted a better placing of the picture. I will state this in more detail, without attempting a complete register of the differences between the two editions:

times been instructed by it, and wish to record my appreciation of its indispensable fulness and unfailing charm.

For a statement that a copy of the new edition was available as early as September, 1865, see Catalogue of an Exhibition at Columbia University to Commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Lewis Carroll (New York, 1932), p. 7.

¹ Mr. Williams notes this fact, which is unmistakable. He prefers the darker impressions of '65. The light tone, especially in the little girl's face, of the '66 Wonderland seems to me about the same as that of the illustrations in Through the Looking-Glass (1872).

The two editions agree up to p. 46, which in '66 "steals" one line from p. 47:

"'Oh, you foolish Alice!' she answered her-".

Then one line from p. 48 is transferred to p. 47, leaving only two full lines at top of p. 48 ('66) instead of three ('65), raising the picture of Alice's hand and the White Rabbit about 1 cm. The purpose of all this was apparently to avoid the "widow" at top of p. 49 ('65):

"out of this!' (Sounds of more broken glass.)",

which in '66 is dropped to bottom of p. 48.

Then both editions agree up to p. 59, where the picture of the Caterpillar is raised one line (i.e., there are 4 lines on p. 59 in '66 and 3 lines in '65). This removes the "widows" at top of p. 61—

"you'll feel it a little queer, won't you?""—

and top of p. 62 —

"'Keep your temper;' said the Caterpillar.",

but still leaves broken lines at top of pp. 60 and 61, where they remain to this day.

On p. 76 two lines are taken from p. 77, so that, with only five lines, instead of seven, on the latter page in '66, the picture of the Frog-Footman is much less crowded, both at top and bottom.

The "widow" on p. 80 is transferred to bottom of p. 79 in '66, and p. 80 borrows a line from p. 81, giving more room for the Duchess's kitchen.

P. 91 (Cheshire Cat) takes over one line from p. 92, avoiding "widow"; and p. 92 takes over one line from p. 93, affording more space for the Cat's grin.

Pp. 95-96:

'65 divides: "There's plenty of | room!' said Alice"; '66 divides: "There's plenty of room!' said | Alice".

P. 97 throws a line over to p. 98, avoiding the "widow": "March Hare went on."

This gains additional space of one line for the picture of the tea party.

P. 98 throws one line to p. 99, and p. 99 throws one to p. 100, thus avoiding the "widow" at top of p. 100:

"doesn't tell what o'clock it is!"".

P. 103 takes over a line from p. 104, making a firmer looking page, steadying the broken italic line:

"Twinkle, twinkle ----"; also catching up the "widow" on p. 105.

- P. 105 takes two lines from p. 106; and, up to p. 110, '66 is two lines ahead of '65, enabling better centering of the picture of the Hatter and Hare putting the Dormouse in the teapot.
- P. 114 ('66) picks one word, "and," from p. 115, in order to avoid two broken words, one above the other, which in '65 read:

"..... corners: ornamented".

P. 118 takes one line from p. 119, and p. 119, one from p. 120 - possibly

to remove the single-word line, "foot.", on p. 118.

By catching up a line from p. 130 on, a "widow" is removed from top of p. 134, and the picture of Alice and the Duchess on p. 132 is raised one line in '66.

The picture of the Gryphon and Mock Turtle (p. 141) has only three lines below it in '66, instead of four.

P. 154 takes over:

"we don't want you with us!"",

avoiding the "widow" at top of p. 155. This allows one less line on p. 157, giving more space for the verse and the picture of the Lobster sugaring his hair.

The "widow" on p. 172 ('65) —

"'or I'll have you executed."" --

is taken over to p. 171; and that on p. 173 —

"on the floor, as it is." —

is transferred to p. 172, along with one other line, thus permitting more space for the picture of the Hatter hurriedly leaving the court.

This, then, is what is revealed to the eye by comparing the canceled edition of 1865 and the substituted edition of 1866: in the latter the illustrations have been reproduced a little lighter, the effect being to make Alice rather prettier, her eyes and hair lighter, and her countenance brighter; and a poor job on the part of the man who made up the pages has been corrected, with resulting improvement in the centering of some of the illustrations.

Which of these was the reason for withdrawing the edition? Williams and Madan say (p. 225) that, "according to Sir Frederick Macmillan, [it was] because of dissatisfaction with the way the printing was done"; but, continuing (p. 233), cite the following letter of Car-

roll's, of August 3, 1865, which was sold at Sotheby's on August 1, 1928:

Dear Sir. I write to beg that if you have received the copy I sent you of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland you will suspend your judgement on it till I can send you a better copy. We are printing it again as the pictures are so badly done. . . .

Williams and Madan feel that "This letter definitely gives the reason for calling in the first issue" and that "The matter . . . has . . . been

cleared up" (p. 233).

I wish, however, to call attention to a letter of Tenniel's to Dalziel, whose firm engraved the wood blocks from Tenniel's drawings. The letter itself is tipped-in in the Huntington Library copy of the 1865 Alice, which bears on the half-title the signature of George Dalziel; it is dated Thursday, and was certainly written in 1865, before Christmas but near enough to it to make July seem "months ago" — say, November, 1865:

10 Portsdown Road. Thursday.

Dear Dalziel.

Be so good as to keep the figure of the girl bright, & delicate, & radiant, and preserve plenty of colour in the rest of the picture. The background very dark - darker than I have made it.

Mr: Dodgson's book came out months ago; but I protested so strongly against the disgraceful printing, that he cancelled the edition. Clay is now

doing it for Xmas.

Your very truly

J Tenniel.

Tenniel's letter clearly states that it was the disgraceful printing that caused the cancellation, and that it was he whose protestations caused Carroll to act. It is not certain that the first paragraph of the letter refers to Alice at all—indeed, from the tenor of the rest we may feel certain it does not; but it does inform us how Tenniel liked his girls' figures to appear: "bright, & delicate, & radiant." The reissued Alice moved in that direction. But Tenniel's phrase, "disgraceful printing," seems most easily taken as referring to the job as a whole

— not merely to the printing of the illustrations, but to typographical defects as well — so that Sir Frederick Macmillan's recollection is accurate enough

curate enough.

Carroll, we know, was extremely sensitive to detail and took infinite pains with his work. At the end of his life he was writing voluminously to Miss Thomson concerning the fairy drawings she was making for him, concluding, under date of November 23, 1897:

Here are the pictures, in the state in which Clay proposes to print them. I am woefully disappointed with them. To me they look feeble, faded, washed-out, as if done from worn-out blocks – Even if you were to declare yourself satisfied with them, I should hold to my decision that I must either have more brilliant impressions or not publish them at all.

He found fault with the printing of some of the copies of the Nursery Alice and lowered the price on them. In 1893 he put out a little circular requesting buyers of the sixtieth thousand of Through the Looking-Glass—since "most of the pictures have failed so much, in the printing, as to make the book not worth buying"—to return their copies, which would be given away "to Mechanics' Institutes, Village Reading-Rooms, and similar institutions, where the means for purchasing such books are scanty." ²

It is difficult to understand, however, why Carroll was so surprised by the way the 1865 Alice turned out. He had had a printed specimen page in hand for more than a year,³ and one may imagine the thoroughness with which he went over it, and the multitude of suggestions he must have made for its improvement. It must have been some suggestion from the outside that, at the last moment, cast him into the depths and induced him to recall his little book. It is Tenniel who takes responsibility for having done this. Totally dissatisfied Carroll certainly was, for according to the page of the "Diary" which Williams and Madan print (Plate VI), it was as late as August 2 that he records:

¹ Williams and Madan, *Handbook*, p. 123.

² For the full text of this circular, see Sidney Herbert Williams, A Bibliography of the Writings of Lewis Carroll (London, 1924), pp. 78-79.

³ Williams and Madan, Handbook, Plate XIII (a page from the Clarendon Press ledger).

Aug 2 (W). Finally decided on the re-print of "Alice," & that the first 2000 shall be sold as waste paper. Wrote about it to Macmillan, Combe & Ten-

niel - The total cost will be - drawing pictures -	138
cutting —	1422
printing (by Clay)	240
binding & advertising (say)	80
	600

i.e. 6/a copy on the 2000—If I make £ 500 by sale, this will be a loss of £ 100, & the loss on the first 2000 will probably be £ 100. leaving me £ 200 out of pocket.

But if a second 2000 could be sold it would cost £ 300, & bring in £ 500, thus squaring accounts: & any further sale would be a gain: but that I can

hardly hope for.

But someone — we may hope Tenniel — persuaded him to give up this drastic plan of a whole new set of drawings, and to let the printer go ahead and see what he could do by merely brightening the impression of the plates and correcting the obvious typographical defects. There is nothing in the second edition to show that Carroll himself exercised any oversight of it or looked at it with care till after it was published. The changes are only such as a printer could, and would, make. It was in this mood of profoundest dissatisfaction, however, and on the day after he records his decision to cancel the edition, that he wrote the Sotheby letter (see p. 158). Evidently he was later somehow got out of this mood and persuaded that things were not so bad.

Now, it has long been known that the copies of the 1865 Alice withdrawn from sale were not sold as waste paper, as Carroll proposed on August 2, nor was there any considerable benefaction to homes and hospitals, as Collingwood implies. There may have been a few copies so given away from among those returned by Carroll's friends. But it is very doubtful if any copies were actually sold or if there ever was

¹ Thomas Combe was senior partner in the University Press, Oxford, and manager of the classical side of the Clarendon Press. (See Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, I [Truro, 1892], 687), and Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* . . . 1715–1886, I [London, 1887], 283.)

^{2 &}quot;2" written over "o".

³ Since it is not written either to Macmillan or Tenniel, could it be the letter to Combe? Probably it is not sufficiently businesslike.

any printed circular requesting their return. I do not understand Collingwood to say there was a circular, but I think it possible that his whole understanding of the steps taken to cancel the 1865 Alice was somewhat colored by his recollection of Carroll's procedure with respect to the calling in of the Looking-Glass sixtieth thousand.2 What we do know is that the remaining unbound sheets of the canceled 1865 Alice were sold to D. Appleton and Co., of New York, who tipped-in a new title-page with their imprint and the date, 1866, and had the sheets bound in England.3 Thus, as is well known, the first American edition is the first suppressed English edition, with a new title-page. Carroll must have agreed to this procedure at a time when he had been persuaded that the original edition, while not good, was not hopelessly bad; at any rate, was not going to be, or had not been, very materially altered in the new English edition (undoubtedly a better piece of printing, though not faultless). Williams and Madan say (p. 230): "It is difficult to believe that Lewis Carroll agreed to the publication of these sheets in America, since it is on record that he thought them not good enough for publication in England." But that he had come to think better of them is proved by the fact that he was himself charged 13s. 6d. for "1000 Titles to Alice, American Edition," on May 26, 1866, and paid the bill, along with other items, February 13, 1868. This I think is the correct reading of the Clarendon Press ledger page.⁴ Furthermore, whatever sum Appleton paid for the printed sheets must have come to Carroll. He himself had paid the Clarendon Press over £100, and on January 4, 1867, they wrote off the balance of £27 1s. as "Loss on Alice."

Finally, I am of the opinion that we must conclude that Collingwood exaggerates Carroll's positive satisfaction in the reprinted *Alice* of 1866. None of the changes shows his hand. But Carroll filled the back end paper of Mr. Parrish's copy of the 1866 edition with thirty-seven corrections, some slight, but some important.⁵ It looks as

¹ See Williams and Madan, *Handbook*, pp. 22-23.

² See above, p. 159.

³ Williams and Madan, *Handbook*, p. 19, states that 48 copies were given away before they were called in and 1,952 copies sold to Appleton.

⁴ Williams and Madan, Handbook, Plate XIII.

⁵ There are still other misprints, and mishaps, in the '66 Alice; see ibid., p. 229. The Huntington Library copy shows the "draw" that makes p. 30 read "3."

though he had not read proof for the new edition of 1866 at all, but noted corrections after it came out. Most, but not quite all, of these corrections appear in the editions beginning with that which contains his "Preface to the Eighty-sixth Thousand," dated Christmas, 1896. I have not had an opportunity to go through intervening editions to see if any had crept in earlier. After thirty years Carroll can express some satisfaction with the work:

For this eighty-sixth thousand, fresh electrotypes have been taken from the wood-blocks (which, never having been used for printing from, are in as good condition as when first cut in 1865), and the whole book has been set up afresh with new type. If the artistic qualities of this re-issue fall short, in any particular, of those possessed by the original issue, it will not be for want of painstaking on the part of author, publisher, or printer.

What, by this time, the expressions "original issue" and "artistic qualities" meant to him it is hard to say, but it may be noted that the illustrations are now blacker and heavier than they were in the withdrawn edition of 1865, much blacker than in the edition of 1866. To judge by copies picked up nowadays at bookshops, they have been

getting blacker ever since.

To sum up: immediately following the printing of the 1865 Alice, Tenniel's objections to the disgraceful printing put the enterprise into a state of suspended animation. Miss Liddell received her copy on July 4. No copy was sent to the British Museum, none apparently for review. Some, possibly forty-eight, were given away. Carroll reached a decision on August 2, 1865, to have the whole thing done over. Subsequently, he must have been dissuaded from this, and a new printer, Clay, was allowed to see what he could do to improve the little book. But Carroll seems to have renounced all responsibility and care for the typographical correctness of the new edition. The unbound sheets of the canceled edition were furnished with a new title-page at his expense and disposed of to an American publisher. It may be hoped that the publication of Carroll's "Diary" will shed more light on this troubled summer.

¹ For one thousand of them, at least. Two forms of title-page in the American edition have been noted. See *The Harcourt Amory Collection of Lewis Carroll in the Harvard College Library* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 12.

I conclude with two letters to indicate that Carroll remained unsatisfied to the end of his days. Collingwood (p. 199) prints part of a letter to Miss Thomson, dated Christ Church, Oxford, March 31, 1892, but omits the last sentence, which is here supplied from the original in the Huntington Library:

I do want you to do my fairy-drawings from life. They would be very pretty, no doubt, done out of your own head: but they will be ten times as valuable if done from life $-M^r$. Furniss drew the pictures of "Sylvie" from life $-M^r$. Tenniel is the only artist, who has drawn for me, who resolutely refused to use a model, & declared he no more needed one than I should need a multiplication-table to work a mathematical problem! I venture to think that he was mistaken, & that, for wanted I of a model, he drew several pictures of 'Alice' entirely out of proportion —— head decidedly too large, & feet decidedly too small.²

And again, to Miss Thomson, likewise from Christ Church, Oxford, May 11, 1896:

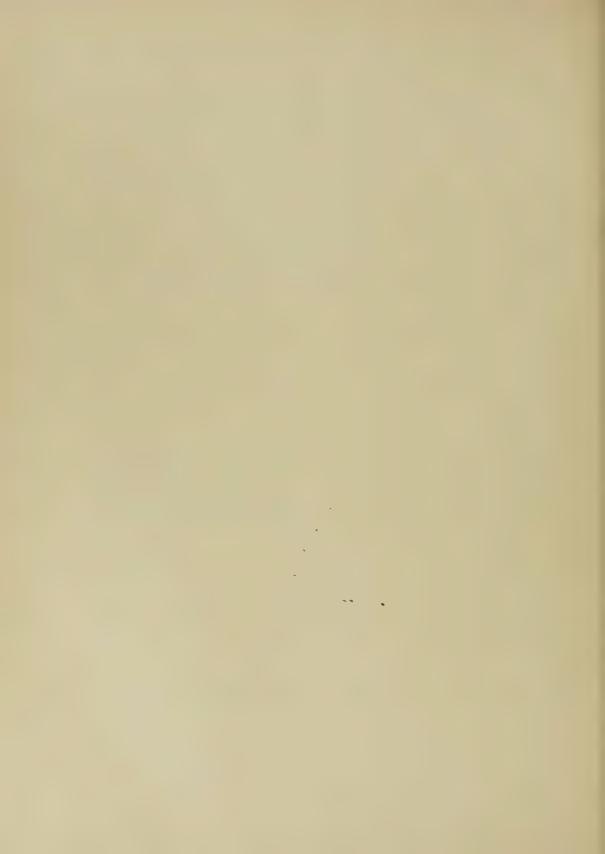
The medallion-heads, on 'Alice' & 'Sylvie' books, done in gold on red cloth, are, in my opinion, of no artistic value whatever.

Please put a hyphen in "Plum-Cake".3

[&]quot; "ed" crossed out in original.

² Harry Furniss, who illustrated *Sylvie and Bruno*, said that "with the exception of Humpty Dumpty, [Carroll] did not like Tenniel's drawings." (*Strand Magazine*, Jan., 1908, quoted in Williams and Madan, *Handbook*, p. 250.) This is probably somewhat exaggerated. He surely liked the Hatter and Tweedledum.

³ He was doing an introduction for *The Lost Plum Cake* (1897), by E. G. Wilcox, who was Mrs. Allen, his cousin. It is the last bit of his writing to appear during his life.



NOTES

A CHRISTMAS CAROL

THE past century has seen the publication of the most important manuscript collections of carols, such as Bodleian Eng. Poet. e. 1 and British Museum Sloane 2593. There remain some other possible sources, however, as the dorso of an occasional roll or deed or the flyleaf of a medieval manuscript, upon which a piece of verse or a favorite

remedy against the plague has been written.

In the Huntington Library there is a fifteenth-century manuscript in which some later owner has written a Christmas carol. The manuscript is a prose translation of the "Somme le Roi" of Frère Laurent (Laurentius Gallus) 1 and is written on 114 vellum leaves in an English vernacular book-hand of about 1450. The binding is of sixteenthcentury English stamped calf, with the initials "T M" stamped on the sides, but as there are indications that these sides may have been previously used on another volume the initials do not necessarily bear any relation to the provenance. The earliest evidences of ownership are the initials just mentioned and the name "I. Touk" (or "Tonk") written in an early-sixteenth-century hand on the recto of the last leaf, which is now pasted to the cover as an end paper.

On folio 113^r, one of the two flyleaves at the end of this volume, there occur six stanzas of a Christmas carol, written in a rather crude, cursive hand of the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. The same scribe has also written a note on the flyleaf at the front of the volume, describing the bounds of the "chace of cramborne." The occurrence of both these notes in the same hand suggests that the carol was written, and possibly composed, in the vicinity of Cranborn Chase. The Chase is situated in the counties of Dorset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire,

and extends northward as far as Salisbury.

The text contains a great number of similarities to B. M. Add. MS. 17013 (ca. 1440). These two manuscripts may be regarded as exhibiting a translation different from that found in others (e.g., Bod. 283, B. M. Add. 37677, or B. M. Roy. 18 A x).

The carol does not appear to have been published and is, in all probability, unique in this manuscript. It is of an unusual type, embodying in chronological order one stanza, each, for the days observed in conjunction with Christmas — beginning with the Nativity itself, December 25, and followed by St. Stephen's, December 26; St. John's, December 27; Holy Innocents' Day, December 28; St. Thomas's, December 29; and Epiphany, January 6 (with which it ends).

No attempt has been made in the transcription to correct or alter the manuscript readings. Misspellings are reproduced as they appear in the original. Obvious abbreviations have been expanded, but other apparently unnecessary marks, such as the bar through the "h" of "John" in the third stanza and the curve above the ampersand in the last stanza, have been represented by apostrophes. The forms of the letters call for some comment. The letter "a" occurs in two forms, one of which might be easily confused with the majuscule, but as no rule seems to have governed their usage the minuscule only has been adopted in the transcript. The long "s," frequently used by the scribe, has been abandoned, as it has no more significance than the various forms of the letters "r" and "e," which are never differentiated by modern editors of manuscripts. The rhyme brackets and paragraph marks have also been omitted in the transcript.

H. C. Schulz

welcum welcum christe redemptor omneum

Now ys cum owre saueowre and now hathe mare borne a flowre To al this wordill' a grete soccowre

celi terre que dominum

Now be be Iuys fallyn in fyste of Seynt stevyn' bat nobull' knyste be cause he sayde he saw a syste

lapidauerunt stephanum

There is a carol in Sloane 2593, printed by Thomas Wright in Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum of the Fifteenth Century (publications of the Warton Club, No. IV; 1856), p. 98, where the stanzas are in a similar chronological sequence, but it contains two in addition — one for the Circumcision, January I, and the last for Candlemas Day.

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Seynt John' that was a martyr fre on crystes lappe a slepe lay he of hevyn he saw be preuete

aduocatur conviuio

Erode that was so full' of syn let sle be s ' childryn' of israell' lyn of too yere age & eke with yn

In bethelem conviuio

Seynte Thomas þat was a marter good Ther came knystes bothe ferse & woode They steryde his brayne & schede his blode

sic passus est martyrrium

Ther came thre kny3tes with rache presens offryde golde myrre franke andsence offryng with grete honnowre &' reuerens

adorauerunt puerum

A UNIQUE GREYFF IMPRINT

In the early years of bookbinding it was customary to use as end-papers, or as linings to strengthen the bindings, whatever waste printed paper might be at hand. The literature of bibliography has many interesting accounts of important discoveries made in such end-papers and linings. The Huntington Library has made some finds of that sort, probably the most important of which is that of an apparently unique *Prognostikon auf das Jahr 1491*, printed by Michael Greyff, at Reutlingen, in 1491, found as an end-paper in the quarto work, Johannes Marius Philelphus, *Novum epistolarium* (Basel: Johann Amerbach, 1489).

The almanac, which was so popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is still familiar to us, although it is not now the household necessity it was before the advent of daily newspapers and weather reports, and consequently no longer has a universal appeal. The fifteenth century also had its almanacs, or calendars, as they were often called. They were usually folio broadsides, sometimes illustrated. Many of the almanacs have directions for bleeding, with a full-length figure of the anatomical man, hence are frequently spoken

It appears that the scribe began to write a long "s" and then scored it through.

of as bleeding calendars. Heitz and Haebler, in their *Hundert Kalendar Inkunabeln* (1905), have reproduced in facsimile one hundred broadside almanacs or calendars, some of them illustrated. The Huntington Library has fifteen original fifteenth-century broadside

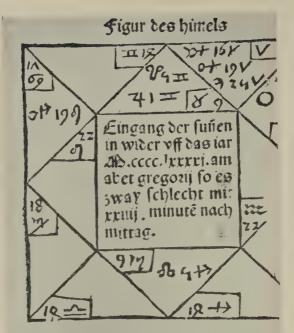
almanacs, in Latin or in German.

Publications of a similar nature, but more extensive, were variously entitled *Prognostikon*, *Practica*, *Ephemerides*, or *Judicium*. They not only had astrological and medical information, but also gave weather predictions and advice concerning what was deemed the best time for bleeding or taking physic. This favorable time was governed by the position of the sun, moon, and planets, as, according to common belief, they all had an important influence upon the various parts of the body. The almanacs and similar publications occur, not only in the Latin language, but also in the vernacular of the country in which they were printed. A study of them helps to give an idea of the customs and beliefs of the fifteenth century. Sir William Osler, in the introduction to his *Incunabula medica* (1923), gives an account of this type of fifteenth-century publications and its interest from the medical point of view.

The *Prognostikon* recently discovered at the Huntington Library consists of the four leaves of a small quarto sheet. The sheet was folded once for use as an end-paper, but, as it was still somewhat too large for the volume in which it was used, it was cropped to some extent. The text-page is 88 mm. in width and approximately 162 mm. in height; 15 mm. has been cut away from the outer edge of four pages (i.e., the lower edge of the folded end-paper). The lower woodcut on page [8] has 22 mm. cut away, the equivalent of five lines of printed matter, and apparently that much was cut from the foot of each page of text (i. e., the outer edge of the folded end-paper). Fortunately, page [7], with the colophon, has fewer lines than the other pages; hence the colophon remains intact (see Fig. 2), except that the last line was slightly cropped, and one corner is defective on account of a wormhole.

Owing to uncertainty concerning what was cut away, it is difficult to determine just how much, if any, of the text is lacking. Some prognostikons, such as those of Johannes Canter (Gesamtkatalog, Nos. 5997-6001), Hieronymus Catinellus (Gesamtkatalog, Nos. 6245-6249), and Jaspar Laet (Polain, Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième





Fusternuß der suffen am funtag nach ieder guldin porten drey stund nach mitter



Fig. 1. Figure of the Heavens Eclipse of Sun (at bottom)

EBepractiziert und geendet durch maister Bar tholomeo von aulon in artzny doctore In der lob lichen hohen schül Züwingü. Und getruckt von Adichel greuff büchtrucker zu Reüttlingen Uff 1 - 'ar unsers hallmachers tausent vierhundert dem ain undnessurgaben iar

Fig. 2. Colophon (translation below)

Put into practice and finished by Master Bartholomew of Aulon, doctor in physic in the estimable high school at Tübingen, and printed by Michael Greyff, book-printer at Reutlingen, in the year of our Savior one thousand four hundred, and in the one and ninetieth year.

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siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique [1932], No. 2426), have but four or six leaves each. The last-mentioned work has a woodcut diagram on page [1] similar to that on page [1] of our prognostikon. It is possible that not more than two leaves, quired as a center half-sheet, are lacking in this prognostikon. Page [1] has a diagrammatic figure of the heavens (see Fig. 1), giving the time of the entry of the sun into Aries; and at the bottom is a woodcut depicting an eclipse of the sun. Page [8] has two woodcuts, 89 mm. in diameter, representing the sun and Jupiter, two of the so-called planets of the fifteenth century, as depicted in the Kalendar deutsch, printed by Greyff, December 24, 1490 (see Figs. 428 and 430 in Schramm, Der Bilderschmuck der

Frühdrucke, IX [1926]).

Very little is known of the author of our prognostikon, Bartholomaeus Scherenmüller, a native of Aalen, in Württemberg. He is not mentioned in the standard biographical dictionaries, but, through the kindness of the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, I can give the following information. He is referred to in Christoph Friedrich von Stälin's Württembergische Geschichte, Dritter Teil (Stuttgart, 1856), page 760, as "Bartholomaeus Scherrenmüller von Aalen, der Artneiwissenschaft Doctor." In the Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1476-1550 (Tübingen, 1877), page 93, it is stated that "Bartholomaeus von Aalen taucht aber erst durch diese Erwähnung als Mediziner auf. Die Matrikel führt ihn bei Eröffnung der Universität als Bartholomaeus de Aulon an; nähere Auskunft gibt das Dekanatsbuch der Artisten, nach welchem er Barthol. Scherenmüller heisst, von Aulon gebürtig, Cleriker der Augsburger Diöcese ist und 1476 in Erfurt magistriert hat." The Kommission does not know of any other copy of the prognostikon; and quite likely this is the only work with which Scherenmüller's name is connected.

HERMAN R. MEAD

A LETTER FROM HELVETIUS ABOUT MOZART

Among the Hastings papers in the Huntington Library is an interesting letter (HA 6278) addressed to Francis Hastings, tenth Earl of Huntingdon (1728-89), by Claude-Adrien Helvetius (1715-71). A brief statement of the circumstances leading to its writing may serve

to clarify it and to fix its date.

On November 18, 1763, Leopold Mozart (1719–87) arrived in Paris for a concert tour with his two children, Marianne, aged eleven, and Wolfgang, aged seven. Their eminent compatriot, the critic Friedrich Grimm, who had been residing in Paris since 1749, gained them access to the highest circles and had them introduced at court. In the travel diary which the Kapellmeister of Salzburg kept, we find an annotation indicating that he met Helvetius and his family. This meeting no doubt led to the writing of Helvetius' letter, to introduce the Mozarts to English court circles. We do not know whether the Mozarts ever met the Earl of Huntingdon or benefited in any way by the letter. The name of the English lord does not appear either in the diary or in Mozart's correspondence.

Since the Mozarts arrived in London on April 23, 1764,5 the letter

may be dated about that time. It reads:

Milord

Souffrez que je vous demande votre protection pour un des etres les plus singuliers qui existent C'est un petit prodige allemand qui est arrivé ces jours cy a Londres. il execute et Compose sur le champ les pieces les plus difficilles et les plus agreables sur le clavesin C'est en ce genre le Compositeur le plus eloquent et le plus profond. Son pere s'apelle Mozart il est

¹ Otto Jahn, W. A. Mozart (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1891), I, 35.

² See, in the art collections at Versailles, the small oil painting, dated December, 1763, by M. B. Ollivier, "Thé chez la Princesse de Conti." It shows young Mozart sitting at the harpsichord.

3 Reiseaufzeichnungen, 1763-1771, herausg. von Dr. Arthur Schurig (Dresden, 1920),

p. 29.

4 "Seine Empfehlungsbriefe müssen wohl warm für ihn gesprochen haben, denn schon am 27. April hatten beide Kinder die hohe Auszeichnung, vor dem König und der Königin im Buckingham-House . . . spielen zu dürfen," says C. F. Pohl in his Mozart und Haydn in London (Vienna, 1867), p. 96.

5 Reiseaufzeichnungen, p. 33.

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maitre de chapelle de Salsbourg il loge avec ce prodige de sept ans At M' Couzin i hare Cutter in cecil Court St Martins Lane tout paris et toute la cour de france on été enchanté de ce petit garcon. je ne doute pas que le Roy et la Reine ne fussent charmé de l'entendre. Londres est les pais des bons paturages pour les talents C'est a l'apollone de l'angletterre a qui je m'adresse pour le prier de le proteger

Permettez que je profite de cette occassion pour vous renouveller les

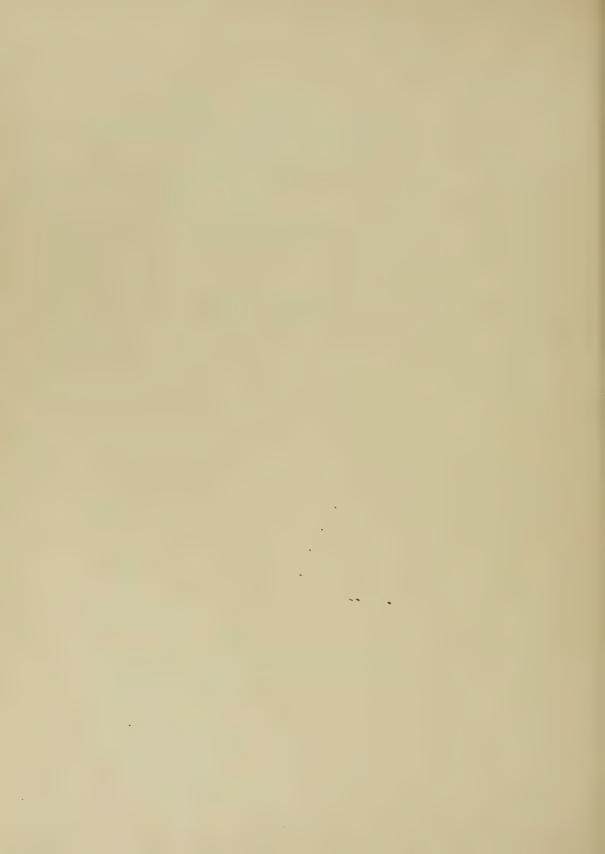
assurances du respect profond avec lequel j'ay l'honneur d'etre

Milord

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur helvetius

Francis J. Crowley

¹ Ibid., p. 33: "Montag die erste Nacht haben wir im Posthause beim weissen Baern in Piccadilly logiert. Dann sind wir in unser Quartier eingezogen, nämlich: zu Hrn Couzin, Harecutter in Cecil Court, Martin's Lane."



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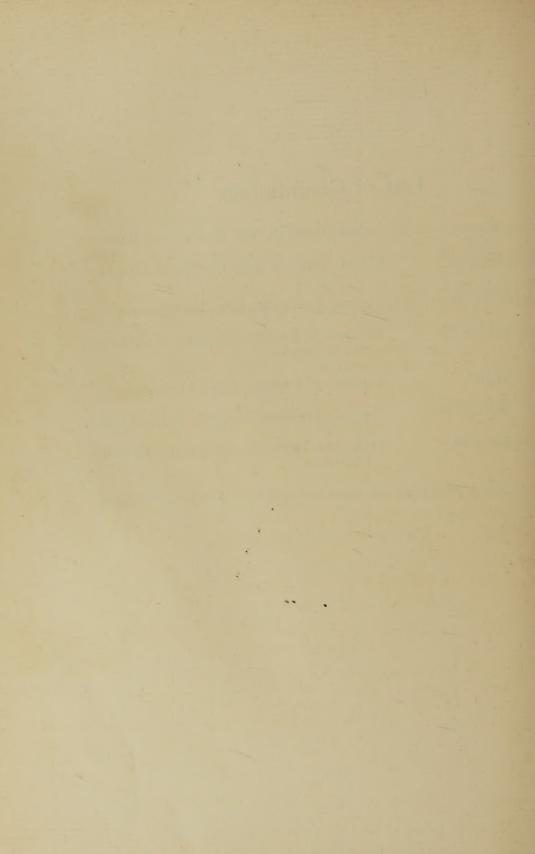
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